

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF JIMMA TOWN
(1936-1974)**

BY

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study presents a historical survey of Jimma town from 1936 to 1974. In dealing with the subject, I have attempted to utilize available archival materials, published and unpublished works as well as informants.

The Jimma town administration office has facilitated my research not only by kindly putting at my disposal relevant documents but also by putting me into contact with knowledgeable oral informants. Thus, a considerable amount of archival material from the town's administration has been utilized in this work. Relevant documents in other government offices and institutes, particularly of Jimma Research Station and Office of Planning and Economic Development for Jimma Zone, have been consulted. The archival sources are very important particularly for post 1941 period. The history of the town in the pre-Italian period is largely dependent on oral information because of lack of any written documents. In both cases, however, relevant secondary sources have been used. As much as possible, efforts have been made to make use of statistical information obtained from the publications of the Central Statistic Office and other government bodies.

Throughout this paper I have used the transliteration system which has come to conventional use by students of the Department of History.

The completion of this work has been made possible by the direct and indirect assistance and cooperation of many individuals and offices. My thanks go to all these individuals and offices. In particular, however, I am very grateful to Dr. Takalign W/Mariam, my advisor, for the guidance he has given me and for reading and re-reading the drafts of this work. I would like to thank the Oromia Educational Bureau for the sponsorship that made my graduate training possible. I wish to extend my profound thanks to those institutions and offices whose archives I had the opportunity to utilize. My appreciation also goes to my informants, colleagues, and friends who cooperated with me in one-way or another. I am very much thankful to Tashager Tessema, Abebe H/Gabriel, Tadasse Semma, Alamrew Kassahun, Bayabil Gobeze, Ali Osman and Abdul Gafar Abda. My thanks also go to W/ro Yezeshewal Eshete for her careful and meticulous typing of the first draft of the thesis.

Last but not least, the support which I got from my mother Ejigayehu Mekonen, my brothers Eyuel and Merawi, my sisters Yitaktu and Fetelework as well as my wife Genet Tassew is unforgettable and my thanks to them are beyond words.

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Abstract

This study deals with the history of Jimma town from 1936 to 1974. It explores social, economic and administrative themes, but also attempts to show the interrelationship between these themes.

Socially, the town of Jimma evolved during this period from a home-town of a relatively homogenous society and culture to a place of residence for a diverse and increasingly cosmopolitan population. The period of Italian occupation (1936-1941) was socially significant because it saw the first major influx of people into the town of Jimma from beyond the borders of the former Kingdom whose name it had inherited. The Post-Liberation period (1941-74) was characterized by the evolution of an even more complex social fabric than before. An even greater influx of people and greater interaction came about partly because the imperial order retained and enhanced Jimma's primacy in the region and partly because economic developments in the region attracted thousands of job-seekers to the town.

Economically, the story of Jimma during this period was one of both continuity and change. It is a story of continuity because Jimma, which had from the very beginning been a center of trade, continued to be so during this period also. There was significant change, however, because unlike the previous decades in which Jimma served as a point of exchange or transit for elite goods (like slaves, ivory and musk) that mostly originated beyond the borders of the Oromo Kingdom, Jimma during this period developed into the chief center for the collection, organization and export of a cash crop (coffee) that grew in the countryside all around it. Economic change involved, therefore, both production and exchange.

Administratively, Jimma during this period developed from the center of rule by a local dynasty that exercised authority over a small kingdom to a capital of a whole region. The background for this was set by the ending of the autonomous political existence of the Oromo Kingdom of Jimma and its full absorption into the political economy of the Ethiopian state on the eve of the Italian occupation of 1936. But the decision by the Italians to make Jimma the chief center of their activities in the whole

of southwestern Ethiopia was of even greater significance. The imperial system of administration that was put in place after Liberation simply built on that beginning.

The social, economic and administrative history of Jimma are closely intertwined, however. The admixture of peoples and cultures as well as the nature of the urban social institutions that evolved in the town are closely tied to “the cash crop revolution” which brought streams of permanent and temporary residents to the town; the evolution of the town into a chief administrative center as well as the introduction of somewhat peculiar administrative and fiscal institutions came about in part due to the location of the town in the heart of the “coffee country” as southwestern Ethiopia came to be referred to. In short, both the urbanity and the urbanization of Jimma can be explained by the story of coffee production and marketing.

This thesis documents these processes extensively and accounts for the *growth* of a major town in modern Ethiopia. After a brief background chapter, it deals with three themes of social evolution, economic activities and municipal government and administration. It argues that despite its significant growth Jimma’s *development* was limited due to the fact that it served merely as an outpost for an extractive system that removed resources from the region, not as a place of investment or technology with generative impact on the surrounding countryside.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Studies on the urbanization of Africa have shown that the continent has had an old tradition of urban development. Many of the ancient African urban centers were chiefly the products of internal development. Some of them evolved as terminal points for caravan trade routes, developing in some cases, as entrepôts for inter-regional and international long distance trade. Others served as important political and administrative centers of empires. Most urban centers, however, served multiple purposes, functioning as centers of administration, commercial activity, points of transshipment and of religious worship.¹

The growth of African towns was accelerated during the colonial period. Colonial rule led to the emergence of new towns and to the revival of many old ones. The needs of the colonizers for improved transport and colonial administrative control followed the growth of towns. These towns were mostly located on coastal parts providing access to raw materials in the hinterlands and to manufactured goods coming from Europe. In some parts of Africa, due to the development of the agricultural exports the one hand and the massive influx of European Colonials, on the other, few urban centers were created. Furthermore, concentrated European settlements gradually evolved into urban centers,

and other forms grew due to specific economic activities such as cash crop, coal mining²

Existing literature asserts that the process of modern urbanization in Ethiopia began to take shape since the later part of the nineteenth century. The territorial expansion of Menelik (r. 1889 –1913), political stability and effective centralization and bureaucratization of government brought relative acceleration of the pace of urbanization in Ethiopia the construction of Addis-Ababa-Djibouti railway the improvement of the system of transportation and communication are identified as factors that contributed to this new phase of urban development.³

Shoan expansion to the south led to the appearance of garrison centers known as *Katama*, which eventually evolved into permanent, small-sized provincial towns. The garrisons were established either on already existing settlements or on fresh sites. Physically they were located on hill tops.⁴ Socially they served mainly as permanent residences of *Naftannas* (as northern and central Ethiopian settlers came to be referred to collectively)

Some studies on urbanization in Ethiopia suggest that the emergence of the present towns in western and southwestern Ethiopia owes itself to politico-military factors, i.e, to the establishment of military garrisons. It is true that many towns in western and southwestern Ethiopia developed historically from the garrison. But many of the garrisons were also abandoned when their military needs declined.

A careful review of historical records suggests that there were some important centers that predated the campaigns of emperor Menelik. One of these settlements was the present Jimma town.⁵

In the history of urbanization in western and southwestern Ethiopia, the history of Jimma town is somewhat different. It combines three elements which none of the other urban centers in southern Ethiopia combines. First, it was an urban center that built on indigenous beginnings. Second, it emerged as a chief administrative center in the whole of southwestern Ethiopia. Third, its growth and internal character came to be closely intertwined with the development of coffee production and trade. In fact only a few cities in Africa (Kano, in Northern Nigeria is one example) have had such a history of connection with indigenous and external dynamics.

1.1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

1.1. 1. Geographical Location

Jimma is located 335km by road southwest of Addis Ababa. Its geographical coordinates are approximately 7°41'N latitude and 36° 50'E longitude. The town is found in an area of average altitude, of about 5400 ft (1780 m) above sea level. It lies in the climatic zone locally known as *Woynā Dagā* which is considered ideal for agriculture as well as human settlement.⁶

The town lies on a low hill on the left side of the wide alluvial plain of the river Gibe, an affluent of the Omo River. It is crossed by two small streams, the Aweyitu and the Kitto, which subsequently join the *Gibe* via *the Gilgal* (small) *Gibe*. Topographically it exhibits features of the upper part of the Gibe-Omo River basin, made up of gentle slopping hills. Some of the hills, like *Ghincio* and *Māle* located to the north of the town, are important sources of water supply for the town.⁷

Jimma is generally characterized by warm climate with a mean annual maximum temperature of 30° c and a mean annual minimum temperature of 14°c. The annual rainfall ranges from 1138mm to 1690mm. For the period 1955-60 (6 years) an average rainfall of 1538mm was recorded in Jimma Agricultural College. Maximum precipitation occurs during the three months period, June to August, with minimum rainfall in December and January. From a climatic point of view, abundant rainfall makes this region one of the best watered of Ethiopian highland areas, conducive for agricultural production.⁸

In geological terms, the town is underlain by volcanic rocks of Tertiary age, which seem to be mostly basalt in the vicinity of Jimma. The rock unit of the town consists of medium to acid lava and tuffs of the so called Trap formation. On the lower gentle slopes, tuffs and/or weathered lava are predominant and red and thick soils are in evidence.⁹

1.2. Foundation and Early Growth of Jimma (1830-1936)

Jimma is at once the name of the town on which this study focuses as well as of one of the five “Gibe states” that flourished in the second half of the nineteenth

century. The site of the present town was also a central market of that kingdom and a staging point for caravans that traversed the whole length of the Ethiopian Highlands, from Kaffa all the way to Massawa. Political, economic and religious developments in the kingdom had important influences on the process of early urbanization of the town. Therefore, it is important to consider briefly the political, economic and religious history of the kingdom in relation to the evolution of Jimma town.

Trade and trade routes have made significant contribution in the evolution of towns in Ethiopia since ancient times.¹⁰ This is true of southwestern Ethiopia also. Not only was the region connected to the main route emptying to the Red Sea, but also was an important source of lucrative commodities. Despite political up and downs and regional variations in tranquility, commercial interaction had continued between the northern and southern regions of Ethiopia for many hundreds of years. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of course, are the best documented, and the place of Jimma in the commercial history of Ethiopia is well attested. A.W. Hodson, for instance, reported that much of Jimma's trade was carried out by the native traders who went as far as Gardulā in the south and Genir in the east.¹¹ In the northern direction, Jimmā traders went to Soddo markets and traded with Harari merchants.¹²

As a result of the expansion of the volume of trade, the kingdom of Jimmā developed into a nodal point out of which a number of routes radiated and on which they converged. The most important of these routes could be summarized as follows:-

1. Jimmā – The Gibe crossing - Kambāttā - Alābā - Shāshamane - kofale - Dodolā - Adābbā - Robe - Gasera or Goro - Ginir.

2. Bongā - Jimmā - Saqqā - Assabdābo - Baso – Gondar – Matamma /Massawa
3. Jimmā - Saqqā - Chirrā - Ilubābor
4. Bongā - Jimmā - Saqqā - Gurāge - Aleyu Ambā - Harar - Zeilā
5. Jimmā - crossing Gibe - Dillā.¹³

The growth of a network of trade was accompanied by the emergence of important market centers in southwest Ethiopia. Among these local centers of trade, the famous were Bongā (in Kaffā), Saqqā (in Limmu), and Hirmātā (in Jimmā). These market towns, located on the busy long distance trade routes, also served as political centers. They had both administrative and economic significance.¹⁴

Bongā was the capital of the Kingdom of Kaffā and the biggest center of exchange in that kingdom. From Bongā also came all kinds of merchandise including ivory, civet and spices.¹⁵ The importance of trade in Bongā had attracted the *Jabarti* traders from the north, the Omotic traders from the south and the surrounding *Afkālā* traders.¹⁶

Saqqā was the other commercial center which developed in the Gibe region prior to Menelik's conquest of southwest Ethiopia. It emerged both as a capital of the kingdom of Limmu Ennārā and as a local market in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ It was the 'greatest emporium in the region up to the 1850s.'¹⁸ Mohammed Hassen states that the Oromo state of Limmu Enarya promoted trade by protecting and encouraging long distance merchants and local traders. In mid nineteenth century, Saqqā was already a major commercial center between Kaffā and the other Oromo monarchies of the Gibe valley on the one hand and Guduru, Gojjām, Gondar and other locations in the north on the other. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, however,

Ennārā's economic predominance in the region was effectively challenged by Jimmā Kākā.¹⁹

Jimmā Kākā, one of the five Gibe Oromo monarchies, came in to existence in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁰ According to tradition, the core of the monarchy was Hirmātā, a small Oromo principality ruled by an enterprising warrior called Abbā Magāl.²¹ About the beginning of the nineteenth century, Abbā Magāl initiated a series of campaigns against his neighbours and achieved the territorial expansion of the principality. The territorial expansion of Abbā Magāl was further advanced by his successors. It was particularly during the reign of Abbā Jifār I, (ca 1830-1854) that most of the territories of the Kingdom were conquered. In 1830, Abbā Jifār had become the first king (*Moti*) of the Kingdom.²²

A well-organized political order, good endowment in economic resources, and strategic location on the main long distance trade route leading into southwestern Ethiopia, helped the state of Jimmā to quickly become the most powerful state in the region. According to Cardinal Massaja, Jimmā Kākā, had about 150,000 inhabitants in 1861.²³ Its geographical limits were the Omo River in the east and the south, Mount Botor in the north and the mountains of Limmu and Gommā in the north and west.²⁴

Jiren was the political center of Jimmā and the main seat of its rulers. It was founded during the reign of Abbā Jifār I. Prior to Jiren, the capital of the kingdom was *Kiftānā* in the district of Mānnā. According to informants *Kiftānā* was located at the heart of the Diggo clan territory.²⁵

There are two traditions regarding the meaning of the name Jiren. The first tradition claims that the word 'Jiren' is derived from the expression by the Diggo

rulers and clan members: "*Jireññi Keññā Assi*" [Here is our residence].²⁶ Others identify Jiren with a certain woman called "*Jira*," who they say was the ruler of the area around the present site of Jiren at the time of Oromo settlement in the region. However, the large majority of my informants support the former story.²⁷

It is said that Abbā Jifār I selected Jiren instead of Kiftānā because of his desire to control the market of Hirmātā, located at about seven kilometers south of Jiren.²⁸ Jiren was selected also for its elevation (2020mts above sea level) because it made it possible to monitor possible enemy movements in the area.²⁹

Jiren, at the beginning consisted almost entirely of the *Masarā* (palace) of Abbā Jifār I and the residences of his courtiers. However, it quickly grew into the "heart of the kingdom, the center from which orders radiated to the boundaries and to which great wealth flowed."³⁰ Not long after the settlement of the court, there emerged in Jiren a small bi-weekly market, held on Monday's (*Gābbā Wuxātā*) and Fridays (*Jimātee*). The market attracted people from the surrounding rural areas. In due course the market became a small village consisting of a number of houses and large number of residents. Farmers brought their agricultural products to the market to exchange them for small finished goods and implements.³¹

The importance of Jiren grew even more during the reign of Abbā Jifār II. The *Moti* constructed an elaborate one-story palace and a number of mosques at Jiren. According to informants, the palace was built by a team that included several foreigners.³² Late in the 1880s Jiren was already a complex settlement. It was described by Leonardo Traversi thus:

. . . with in the palace lived people who served some of the political, economic and personal needs of the king and his family. Among these were hundreds of free servants, eunuchs, slaves and concubines, over two thousand and

*military men, artisans of all kinds, Jailers; overseers; and organizers. Near the palace lived court interpreters, lawyers, and musicians and other entertainers. Among the buildings with in the place were granaries by the hundreds, great stables, a place for keeping civet cats (for their valuable musk), store houses, workshops for artisans, and houses for visitors, servants, soldiers, and family. They were jail houses, treasuries and a mosque.*³³

About two hundred houses were clustered around the palace.³⁴ The militia forces organized by Abbā Jifār II early in the twentieth century were partly responsible for the increase in the population of Jimmā.³⁵ The "army" consisted of two main divisions: *Qawe Jabarti* and the *Kortāwe*. The *Qāwe Jabārti* was largely composed of soldiers recruited from among Gondare, Gojjāme and Tigrian adventurers. They were estimated to number 800 - 1000. They had their own *Azāzh* (head) by the name of *Fitāwrari* Balachew. The *Kortāwe* were made up of local militia, who served the court in a shift system. Both group of soldiers were under the high command of *Fitāwrari* Abbā Diga Abbā Roro.³⁶ After Jimma's incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire, soldiers of the central government also passed through the state on their way to such places as Kaffā, Gimirā, Māji and Ilubābor. This by itself necessitated the development of facilities for their reception, further enhancing the growth of the area that would be Jimma town later.³⁷

Prior to the Italian invasion, the Kingdom / province of Jimmā had developed into an important center of Muslim learning in southwestern Ethiopia. According to Mohammed Hassen, there were, by the end of nineteenth century, about sixty or so *Madrāsās* (schools for Islamic learning) in Jimmā, mostly located in and around Jiren. A large number of students came to Jimmā from the surrounding areas such as Gommā, Gummā, Limmu, Gerā as well as from Ilubābor, Arsi, Bāle and Hararge.³⁸

Besides being the political center and or commercial emporium of the region, the function of the town as a center of Islamic learning and culture had attracted a considerable population from different parts of the country.

The other important quarter of Jimmā town was Hirmātā. Jiren and Hirmātā flourished together as administrative and commercial centers respectively. Oral traditions attest that Hirmātā came into existence before Jiren. It is said that Hirmātā was an important site for social activity ever since the occupation of the area by the Mechā Oromo in the early seventeenth century. Some informants substantiate this by saying that the term Hirmātā came from "Hirmāchu" (Oromo: sharing) and say that the connection with the place was that the Mechā "shared cattle and other booty [at the site] after major raiding campaigns."³⁹ Guluma Gemedā has also collected similar traditions. He states that "some of the spoils [of war] were exchanged for other commodities at the same place, there by probably giving rise to a small-scale market."⁴⁰

The presence of Hirmātā prompted the establishment of Jiren as a main political center of the kingdom. This was because the leaders were interested to control the market at Hirmātā. At the same time, the emergence of the kingdom enhanced the development of Hirmātā as a principal market.⁴¹

According to contemporary sources, Hirmātā was overshadowed by Saqqā upto the beginning of the 1850s. Limmu - Ennāryā declined militarily and commercially from about the middle of the nineteenth century mainly owing to the expansion of Jimmā under Abbā Jifār I. As a result of this development a large number of Jabarti traders abandoned Saqqā in favour of Hirmātā. It is also said that Abbā Jifār I invited a number of Muslim clerics to evangelize freely in his domain in

order to attract Muslim traders. Abbā Jifār "embraced Islam for political and economic motives than for religious needs."⁴²

Jimmā's commercial pre-eminence was further secured after the military success of Abbā Jifār I against Janjero and Badifola in 1844 and 1847 respectively. The victory of Abbā Jifār assured him of control over an important caravan route between Jimmā and the northern markets. As a result, the commercial superiority of Saqqā rapidly dwindled and the center of exchange shifted to Hirmātā. Thus in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hirmātā became the most important center of trade in the Gibe region.⁴³

The well-organized web of markets linking Hirmātā with the surrounding countryside facilitated the flow of commerce to the settlement. There were several weekly markets near and around Hirmātā that connected it with the surrounding countryside. Examples of these were the Sunday market at Sarbo, the Monday market at Sombo, the Tuesday market at Shebe, and the Wednesday market of Ule Wākā. Because the market days were staggered, the local *Afkālā* traders could buy and sell at different places without missing any of the markets.⁴⁴

In the market of Hirmata there were sections for handicrafts, agricultural and livestock products. The most common items on the local market during those early periods were, grains and flour, honey, livestock and livestock products, products of handicrafts such as baskets, spear heads, plough heads, iron axes, sickles, knives, saddles, shields, belts, bags and pottery products such as pitchers, incense burners, coffee cups, milk containers etc. Items going through the long distance trade included musk, hides, ivory, and small quantities of coffee. Ivory, musk and spices mainly came from Kaffā. Manufactured products such as perfumes, drugs, rifles,

articles of clothing like Abujadid and a red woolen cloth known as Abukoton, colored silks, muslin (*shashi*), different curtains, trousers, coats were brought from Addis Ababā and sold in Hirmātā and the surrounding markets.⁴⁵

The actual commercial activity was undertaken mostly by the Afkālā and *Jabarti* traders as well as the few foreign entrepreneurs. Gruhl called Hirmātā "the greatest [market] in all southern Abyssiniā" and also noted that the market was organized after 'the fashion of the great European markets.'⁴⁶ The magnitude of the market impressed Gruhl, who estimated that it was visited by eight to ten thousand buyers in a good day.⁴⁷ Citing the British war office report of 1922, Richard Pankhurst has raised the figure to 30,000.⁴⁸

Hirmātā was renowned also as a distribution point for salt which came from the Taltal plains in Tigray. The inhabitants of Kaffā, Kullo and Limmu all got their salt from Hirmata. Northern traders coming from Gojjām, Shewa and Tigre, collectively known as *nagadde*, brought salt bars and thalers to Hirmātā.⁴⁹

Iron, which was produced in Jimmā, was taken as far as Bāle via Hirmātā.⁵⁰ Merchants from Bāle, Sidamo and Shawā sold their products in Jimmā markets. There were resident European and Arab merchants involved in the trade of Jimmā in the early twentieth century. For 1910, for instance, three most important foreign traders were reported to have been a Swiss by the name of Dubail, a Syrian called Ydlibi, and a French man called Guigniony.⁵¹ A. W. Hodson, the British officer who visited Jimmā in 1917, also noted the existence of a number of British Indian subjects in the town. The Indian, Arab and occasionally Greek entrepreneurs run firms in Hirmātā that were engaged in the business of collecting hides, coffee, wax and the like.⁵²

As has been stated above, Hirmātā's significance arose first from its strategic location. It was located at a juncture of the main long-distance trade routes to and from southwestern Ethiopia. Hirmātā thus connected the trade of the region with the rest of the Ethiopian region. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the Jimmā area started to benefit greatly from coffee production for export. Coffee attracted both Ethiopian and foreign entrepreneurs who came to operate from the town.⁵³ The expansion of coffee cultivation eventually made not just Jimmā but also the southwestern region as a whole among the most economically valuable parts of Ethiopia.

The large-scale exploitation of coffee for commercial purposes, however, does not seem to have been well established before the third decade of the twentieth century. Improvements in the means of transportation, i.e., the opening of the Gambela water transportation and the Addis Ababā - Djibouti railway system, facilitated the growth of coffee production and trade in southwest Ethiopia. Coffee was exported eastwards to the Gulf of Aden ports and, after 1907, westwards by boat from Gambela via the Nile to Khartoum in the Sudan. After about 1920, it was exported eastwards by railway to Djibouti.⁵⁴

The political stability and effective organization of administration during the reign of Abbā Jifār II expedited commerce in Jimmā. Local administrators under Abbā Jifār provided protection for trade and traders in different market places. On the four corners of Jimmā, there were gates (*kella*) at which incoming and outgoing traders were inspected and taxed. These *kellas* carried the names of the regions or states that bordered on Jimma. There was thus *Kullo bar*, (the gate to Kullo) *Kaffā bar*, *Limmu bar* and *Shawā bar*. There were officials known as *Abbā Kellā* (chief of the

kella), who guarded the gates and ensured the security of traders that passed through. The *Abbā Qoros* (provincial governors) of all the sixty provinces also had an obligation of safeguard traders against mistreatment, robbery and attack.⁵⁵ This favourable political and economic condition in Jimmā enhanced commercial activities in the town and attracted more merchants from Shawā, Gojjām, Gondar and Tigray in the north.

As Jiren and Hirmātā developed as political and commercial centers of the kingdom respectively, a third quarter, Mandarā, was growing in between the two centers. Mandarā, which in literal Oromiffā means “village”, was from the very beginning residential quarter for long-distance traders and their agents who traded at Hirmātā. The diverse origin of these merchants was illustrated on the ground by the fact that their settlements came to carry the names of their places of origin. Thus there was Mandarā Wollo, Mandarā Gojjām, Mandarā Gondar, etc.⁵⁶

A small local market, (“*qocci*” in Oromiffā) also emerged in the area, providing for the daily needs of the significant resident community of traders and agents in Mandarā. There was a considerable number of Arab, Syrian, Indian and Armenian commercial firms in and around *qocci*.⁵⁷ In 1922, the population of Mandarā was estimated at 4000 to 5000.⁵⁸ The growth of the settlement required official attention to matters of settlement and construction, a task assigned to a certain Abbā Diko Nādā, referred to in the local traditions as “the town planner.”⁵⁹

After the 1920s, Mandarā began to decline in importance and was overshadowed by Hirmata. This was probably because of the ever-widening scope of trade in Hirmātā.⁶⁰

The expatriate as well as local merchants of Mandarā transferred their seat to Hirmātā. In the early 1930s, except for a few huts and houses in which a small number of non-trading residents lived, Mandarā was almost abandoned.⁶¹

The fate of Jiren was also similar. The political and administrative center of the Diggo rulers started to die a natural death with the erosion and final ending of Jimmā's autonomy. The official agreement between Menelik and Abbā Jifār II in 1882 had formalized the position of Jimmā as a state tributary to Shawā.⁶² For the fifty four years following his submission, Abbā Jifār had regularly paid annual tribute to Menelik. Jimmā also cooperated with Menelik in his war against Kaffā, Janjero and Walayita, thus facilitating the process of Shoan expansion. Throughout the reign of Menelik, Jimmā had stayed as a semi - autonomous province in the Ethiopian Empire.⁶³

During the 1920s, and the early 1930s, a continuous process of administrative reorganization and centralization of government and taxation was being advanced by *Rās* Tafari (later Emperor Haile Selassie). During this time Jimmā was flourishing as a center of commerce.⁶⁴ This economic importance of Jimmā "necessitated in particular a greater control of the hitherto autonomous province."⁶⁵ In the late 1920s, *Rās* Tafari took control of Jimmā's customs. Tafari appointed officials to collect market dues at Jimmā. *Nagadrās* Sāhla Eshete, the first Shoan official was sent with a considerable number of soldiers and stationed at Hirmātā in 1932.⁶⁶ He was responsible for giving "licenses" to merchants and for collecting taxes from the market.

In 1932/33 *Dajāzmāch* Wolde Amānuel was appointed by the Emperor as the first governor of Jimmā. With him were a large number of troops, administrative

personnel, Judges and priests. Most of the newcomers, particularly the customs officials, established residence in what is presently known as *Shawā bar*.⁶⁷ A 1955 document attests to these developments:

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After the death of Abbā Jifār II in 1934, Jiren's importance completely declined. It lost its significance and most of its residents flocked to Hirmātā, where they continued their engagement in commerce.⁶⁹

Despite their varying fortunes at various points in time, it is true that the morphology of the present Jimmā town was originated from these quarters: Jiren, Hirmātā and Mandarā, which served as centers of administration, exchange and merchant residence respectively. But it was the Hirmātā market which grew into a viable quarter at the time of the relative decline of Mandarā and Jiren on the eve of Italian occupation. The number of settlers in Hirmātā increased and the size of the market grew. The volume of goods also improved. Generally, the early history of the town of Jimmā fits in with the general feature of African urbanization during the pre-colonial period. Towns emerged mostly as seats of local rulers and/or as market places.⁷⁰

From the preceding discussion, it is reasonable to conclude that the evolution of Jimmā has been interwoven with the growth of markets and the development of long distance trade on the one hand and the political consolidation of Jimmā as a state on the other.

What is important to note here is that during these early times Jimmā grew into a big village rather than really a town. Though there is no universal agreement on a definition of a town, the CSO survey of 1968 defines a town as an area where the following elements exist: a chartered municipality with a building, houses aligned contiguously; public utilities like bars and hotels; permanent shops or selling stalls and at least one weekly market. All these, with the exception of the last two were not in place in Jimmā until after the Italian occupation of the town.⁷¹

In 1933 Haile Selassie took over the direction of Jimmā's internal affairs from Abbā Jobir, the grandson of Abbā Jifār II. Even if the local rulers were not totally deprived of political position, their role in administrative, political and economic matters were negligible. On their part, they were very upset about the new administrative and taxation system imposed on Jimmā.

The leading member of Jimmā's ruling family on the eve of the Italian invasion was Abbā Jobir. He is alleged to have sent a declaration to the Italian government accepting Italian sovereignty over Jimmā.⁷² Because of this he was apparently imprisoned for a year at Akāki and for an additional year and a half in Manz. He was later freed and joined the Italians.⁷³ Once Abbā Jobir submitted to Graziani, he cooperated with the Italians in the conquest of southwest Ethiopia.⁷⁴

Abbā Jobir, who remained loyal to Italy to the very last, was promoted to the titular position of Sultan. Further more, he was regarded as "one of the most important Moslem leaders" and paraded as "an indication of Italy's good disposition toward the Muslims of Ethiopia."⁷⁵

After Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia became "legal" on May 1936, the Fascist government reconstituted an Italian colonial Empire known as Africa

Oriente Italia, AOI (Otherwise Italian East Africa). The Empire, which was formed with the fusion of a newly conquered Ethiopia with Italian Somalia and Eritrea, had six major regional divisions Tigre, Amhara, "Gāllā" – Sidāmā", Addis Ababā (later known as Shawā), Harar and Somalia. The respective capitals of these regions were Asmara, Gondar, Jimmā, Addis Ababā, Harar and Moqādishu.⁷⁶

Jimmā, previously known as Hirmātā and Jiren, thus became the capital of the "Gāllā – Sidāmā" region, one of the six administrative regions created by the Italians. This helped Jimmā to emerge as one of the administrative centers and the biggest towns in Ethiopia.

It appears that the loyalty of local rulers and the relatively easy "pacification" of the region had provided the Italians a good opportunity to focus on construction. The Italians invested a lot on infrastructure such as buildings and roads. It was during this period that Jimmā's came to take its present shape.⁷⁷

CHAPTER TWO

2. PHYSICAL GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

2.1 The Evolution of Jimmā's Morphology

2.1.1 The Italian Period /1936 -41 /

Immediately following their arrival in Jimma, the Italian's set up the "Governorate della Galla e Sidama" as one of the six administrative regions established in their new East Africa Empire. Jimmā was made the regional capital and the main seat of the *commissariato* and the Italian governor. The Italians left Jiren to the old local ruling family and developed Hirmātā as the chief administrative and commercial center. The first and the most important measure taken by the

Italians was the establishment of a military camp. The Italian army, which consisted not only of a large number of Italian soldiers but also Eritrean and Somali *Ascaris*, was stationed at the northwestern edge of the town. In addition to this camp, residential buildings for high military officers were built to the South of Hirmātā. The Italians also established a radio station on the road to Agāro, on the site today known as centerado (perhaps derived from the Italian for "central").¹

In 1937, the Italians prepared a master plan for Jimmā, but mainly for Hirmātā. It was drafted on the basis of Fascist segregation policy aimed at avoiding the "grave consequences resulting from the promiscuous [living] of Italians [and natives]."² According to this master plan, the town was divided into two distinct parts: the Black and White quarters. The master plan designated Hirmātā as the quarter for Whites. It was made to include today's *Faranj Arādā*, *Shawā Bar*, *Mantinā* and parts of *Mandarā*. Main avenues and streets were laid out for Hirmātā.³

The Italians also erected a number of office and residential buildings in Hirmātā. The most remarkable of these included the residence of the regional governor, the building that was erected to house civil and military tribunals, the building for civil and military hospitals, the municipal building, the office building for the Fascist labour office, schools for Italians and Ethiopians and for Islamic studies, and residential buildings for lower officials.⁴ Some informants say that in some of their speeches Italian administrators boasted of converting Jimmā into "picola Roma" (little Rome).⁵

According to this master plan, areas located to the south, southeast and southwest of Hirmātā were collectively designated as the Black quarter. These included areas which are presently known as *'Kulo bar*," *"Sarātññā Safar"* and

"*Māryām Safar*." These areas were then marshy stretches of land, hence breeding sites for malaria mosquitoes. The Italians removed the scattered settlements of indigenous people from Hirmātā and Mandarā to this quarter. They reclaimed parts of these marshy lands and provided some medical services for the natives in the rather poorly built hospital in the neighbourhood of *Māryām safar*⁶

The native settlements in these areas were congested, consisting of poor houses constructed mainly from mud, wood and thatch. There was no clean drinking water, electric supply or no road infrastructure of any significance in the area.⁷

The other measure taken by the Italians was the distribution of land for settlement. They encouraged people to build their own residences and shops in the town. Local people who were evicted from the areas reserved for foreign settlement, albeit with compensation, were settled there. The Italians encouraged the construction of houses with corrugated iron roofing.⁸

Moreover, to serve the large number of Italian officials, the Italians built modern hotels. Two of Jimmā's major hotels, the current Gibe and Gojeb Hotels, were built by the Italians. The Italians also built restaurants and rows of shops which were mostly rented by Arab merchants.⁹ This took place in the neighborhood called *Shawā Bar*. Most of these buildings are still in existence and serve different purposes. But they bear unmistakable colonial imprint of Italian colonial architecture.

It was also during the Italian occupation that Jimma got some of its urban amenities. Branch offices of two Italian Banks, Banco di Roma and Banco di Italia, were opened in 1938. Postal and telegram services were introduced in Hirmātā. The Italians also provided the Whites quarter with tap water from Jiren springs. An Italian company installed electricity for the White areas from a diesel generator.

Moreover, two cinema halls were also opened. A stadium was constructed at a locality called Kitto. All these buildings gave Jimmā a modern urban appearance.¹⁰

The period of Italian occupation in Jimmā and its surroundings was also followed by the development of road construction on which an enormous amount of money was spent.¹¹ With amazing rapidity, a network of good roads were built to connect Jimmā with other towns like Addis Ababā, Nekemete, Gore and Bongā. The Italians conquered the difficult terrain between Addis Ababā and Jimmā and built iron bridges over the main Gibe River and the little (Gilgel) Gibe. This removed the great obstacles against the movement of goods and people, particularly during the rainy seasons. The roads connecting Jimmā to Bongā and to Gore were dry - weather roads.¹² The intensive Italian policy of road construction was aimed, of course, at securing their colonial conquest of the country and securing the exploitation of its economic resources.¹³

In the field of industry also significant accomplishments were made. Owing to the importance of forestry in the region, the Italians built the first saw mill in Jimmā. They erected a machine for cutting wood. In conjunction with this, however, the Italians provided for the special protection of forests. They emphasized the planting of new and different varieties of seedlings of trees around Jimmā. Individuals were supplied with variety of seedlings free of charge to plant. A force known as "Militia Foruställe" was organized for the purpose of forest protection.¹⁴ It was mainly made up of native *Ascaris*. They were instructed in Italian language and trained to protect forests from wild fire. It was a punishable offense even to cut ones own trees without the permission of the concerned officials. To the northwest of the town, the Italians established a dense forest area, using hired labour. It was named after O.Renaldo

Mussoloni, the brother of the Italian dictator.¹⁵ The *safar* which evolved near this forest is currently known as "Foruställe."¹⁶

The Italians also built an "Islamic Institute" for Arabic learning and a big Mosque at Mantinā. They invested heavily in the Muslims of Jimmā in the hope of winning their support.¹⁷ In 1936 they had publicized the liberation of Abbā Jobir who had been imprisoned by Haile Selassie. An arrangement was made for The Sultan's tour of the Middle East. In 1938, he was taken to Rome and received by Mussolini "to whom he publicly expressed the devotion of all free Muslim Oromo." By all these efforts, Italy sought to back up her claim to be the champion of Muslims.¹⁸

In Jimmā the Italians transferred the old market of Hirmātā and qocci to a new locaiton that came to be known as Marcāto (market).¹⁹ Modern market stalls were built, divided in terms of the items sold. "Marcāto indigeno", as the Italians called it, became a daily market and was the largest in south and southwestern Ethiopia. It served as the major market mainly for food stuffs (like grains, butter, spices, eggs, vegetables) and cash crops (like coffee) as well as other commodities like hides and skins. Other items like textiles were sold at other locations like "*Shawā Bar*."²⁰

In 1936-37 a number of scouting missions were sent from Italy to explore possibilities for Italian settlement in Ethiopia. Jimmā and its surroundings, for reasons of security and agricultural potential, were among the areas chosen as best locations for the implementation of settlement schemes.²¹ Subsequently a colonizing agency called Ente veneto d'Etiopia received vast lands in Jimmā, and undertook to provide financial and technical assistance to Italian farmers who would settle there.²² Italian soldiers were also granted lands for the cultivation of cereals. But none of the

projected settlements were successful. Sbacchi argues that bureaucratic complication and technical deficiencies were to blame for the failures.²³

Nonetheless, there were a few remarkable efforts at modern agriculture that have left some imprint on local memory as well as landscape. Among these was an Italian farm at Melko, about 8 kms from the center town. Here, many of the slopes were converted into bench terraces. Irrigation water was brought to the site in an open ditch, by a small dam erected across a stream two kilometers away.²⁴ According to informants, few Italian farmers were engaged in horticulture production at the Melko farm. They kept pigs and made the first attempt at developing a tea plantation.²⁵

The other significant development under the Italians, with consequence for the morphology of the town, was the development of prostitution. Prostitution was considerably expanded in Jimmā during the Italian period. The presence of tens of thousands of Italian soldiers and workers created especially favourable environment for this occupation. As a result of the war, a large number of Ethiopian women were widowed. For many of them prostitution became the only way of making a living.²⁶

According to informants, prostitution was not much known in Jimmā prior to the Italian period. It is reported that Abbā Jafar II forbade the sale of liquors in his territory on the grounds that it encouraged licentiousness and robbery. In the 1920s, and 1930s, however, a few drinking houses selling 'Tallā' and 'Taj' were operating around *Shawā bar* and in Hirmātā. Women who worked in those houses were referred to as "Komārits" (brewers). Many of them also doubled as prostitutes.²⁷

The Italians established a row of small kiosks for the prostitutes of Jimmā at Mantinā.²⁸ Every Wednesday, prostitutes underwent checkups at the Kitto Hospital,

the hospital built for natives. The Italians assigned a *Woizero* Bajubā Mansur as a supervisor of prostitutes. Bajuba's task was registering new comers and sending those infected with sexually transmitted diseases to the hospital. Bajubā, was known to the local people as "*Hādhā Qoro Shārmūtā*" (chief of the prostitutes).²⁹

In 1938/39, the Italians drafted still a new plan for the town. The new plan envisaged the rebuilding of the center of the town to the east of the Awetu River. The Mandarā settlement, which had almost been abandoned, was to be rebuilt into the main center of town. It was planned to transfer main government offices, the residential quarter for Italian officials (including the governors'), the Casa Fascio (the Fascist club), etc to the new site. Included in the plan were also an exclusive market for the Italians (Mercato Nazione), a stadium, a parking area, a Whites - only hospital, churches and a military camp.³⁰

Had this plan been fully implemented, Mandarā's importance would have probably overshadowed Hirmātā's predominance and the internal morphology of the town could have been different. Informants suggest that there were at least two reasons why the Italians planned to relocate the center of the town to Mandarā. First, despite their drive to create an exclusive White's only quarter, what was achieved in Hirmātā did not satisfy the Italians: that is because it was very close to the Black quarter.³¹ Secondly, Mandarā was relatively plain and thus more convenient and attractive for building and settlement than Hirmātā.³²

On the basis of the new plan, the Italians built a few buildings such as the hospital, a military camp (today's Jimmā university) and other buildings (like to day's Zonal Education Office), a residence and office building for the regional *Abun* and other rows of residential buildings.³³

The implementation of the new plan was discontinued with the defeat and eviction of the Italians from Jimmā. Nevertheless, this plan was to serve as a general model for the future development of the town after independence.³⁴ In general, however, it can be said that Jimmā acquired its present shape during the Italian period. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, the town did not develop the characteristics of a typical colonial town in which the colonial project had enough time to work itself out.

2.2. The Post - Liberation Period - Jimmā as the Biggest Town of the Southwest

2.2.1. 1941 - 1974

Conditions after 1941 proved favorable for the relatively rapid growth of Jimmā. Among the factors that encouraged the growth of the town during this period was the fact that it was used as a regional capital.

The restored Ethiopian government made Jimmā the capital of Kaffā *Taklāy Gizāt* late in 1941. Among the very first institutions to have been put in place was a finance office charged with the task of collecting taxes and administering what came to be known as “enemy property”. The municipality of Jimmā was also re-established, housed in the premises of the previous Italian municipal building.³⁵ The municipality introduced a new administrative structure according to which the town was divided into four *safars*: Bossā, Hirmātā, Mandarā and Jiren. Such a division into *safars* was necessary for the purpose of facilitating tax collection, regulating

land and property transactions, and managing the sanitation of the town. The division remained a reality on the ground between 1942 and the mid 1970's.³⁶

Among the changes early in the 1940s was the conversion of the buildings which the Italians built for residence into schools and administrative offices. A large number of shops at *Shawā bar* and a series of stalls at the market place were rented out to merchants willing to make use of them.³⁷ The municipality transferred ownership of the land associated with the residential and commercial houses to those who rented or bought them.³⁸

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, a series of governmental organizations and private firms established their branch offices in Jimma, making the town the chief center in the whole of southwest Ethiopia. The town continued to enjoy the position until recently.

The most important governmental organizations and private firms that had significant effect on the development of the town were the regional and district offices of EELPA, the Imperial Highway Authority, the Postal and Telecommunications offices, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, Addis Ababā Bank, the Development Bank of Ethiopia, the Mitchell Cots Private Ltd., the Philips Company, Safarian & Co. Ltd., A Bess Company and the four gasoline Stations (Shell, Total, Agip and Mobil).

For most of these organizations, the town served as the chief center of operations in southwestern Ethiopia. Their presence also encouraged the growth of service industry businesses like hotels & restaurants. This had an impact on the physical expansion of the town.³⁹

The branch offices of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, the Development Bank, and the Addis Ababā Bank (privately owned) were established in 1947, 1953

and 1965 respectively. These banks gave out loans to many individuals in and around Jimmā, enabling them to expand their businesses. Particularly the Development Bank made special efforts to improve the quantity and quality of coffee production.⁴⁰ The Bank established its own wet coffee processing plant at Suntu, north of Jimmā.⁴¹

The Imperial Highway Authority engaged in construction of roads in the town on the basis of agreement with the municipality. For instance, In 1954 the IHA renewed 16.4 kms of the streets of the town.⁴²

2.2.3 Agriculture, Manufacturing and Trade

The town's economy was almost entirely dependent on its agricultural hinterlands. The comparatively rapid development of the town after liberation was fostered by its strategic location on the gateway to the rich agricultural region of the southwest Ethiopia. The immediate rural hinterlands of the town like Sarbo, Limmu, Assanbdābo and Dedo *Warādās* had become famous for their coffee, corn, teff and sorghum production.⁴³

It is remarkable, however, that despite its location in a relatively rich productive zone of southwest Ethiopia, Jimmā has always been a grain deficit area, importing much of its food from other regions. This is partly because a large portion of agricultural land in Jimmā *Awrajā* had come to be devoted to coffee products. Food shortage was made even more serious by the influx in to the region of migrant laborers.⁴⁴

In the course of the coffee boom of the 1960s and early 1970s, an ever-increasing number of local peasants reduced food production in favour of coffee products. The higher incomes that coffee cultivation made possible were irresistible.

The situation necessitated grain imports from other regions.⁴⁵ The decline of local production, and improvements in road transportation encouraged a number of graintraders to operate between Jimma and a number of collection points to the north of the Gibe River, including Wolqite, Woliso and Addis Ababa.⁴⁶ According to some estimates about 90 percent of the grain that was imported to the Jimma region came from these areas of the north, all the way to Addis Ababā. The rest came from Asandabo and Dedo 48 and 25 kms from Jimmā respectively. The main suppliers of grain to the town were Bacho, Adā and Maqi for teff, Shāshamane for maize and sorghum and, Arsi for wheat. The prominent wholesale grain dealers were individuals like *Ato* Gāli Abbā Mogā, Kadir Yimmu and Girge Abdalā.⁴⁷ These grain dealers owned storage facilities in Jimmā and sold in large quantities to other retailers. A relatively small number of assemblers from Sarbo, Assandabo & Dedo also procured grains either directly from producers or from other small assemblers. They passed on their merchandize to wholesalers in Jimmā.⁴⁸

Spices and condiments like ginger, and coriander were produced in the Gojeb, Saqqā and Qanqiti lowlands. A number of spice dealers were actively engaged in supplying these products to the town.⁴⁹

Within the bounds of the town, a large variety of vegetables were also grown, with and without irrigation. Urban horticulture included the cultivation of tuber plants (potatoes, tomatoes) and fruit trees like banana, papaya, pineapple, a variety of citrus fruits and peaches. Some hinterlands of Jimmā area are also known for relatively extensive tea and sugar cane production.⁵⁰

A good part of the former Jimmā *Awrajā*, satisfied the ecological requirements for beekeeping. Because of these ecological factors, beekeeping was widely

practiced by peasant farmers in Jimmā and its surroundings. Honey and wax were thus major items of trade in Jimmā's markets.⁵¹ The main sources of honey and wax for the Jimmā market were (and still are) the *Awrajās* of Kaffā and Gerā.⁵² According to informants, most of the honey was used for local consumption in the form of *Taj*.

There were, nevertheless, a few wholesalers like *Ato* Gāli Abbā Mogā, Kadir Yimamu and Girige Abdalla who exported honey to Addis Ababā. The availability of sufficient grazing had meant that there was a large livestock in Jimmā and the surrounding areas. Among the most extensive grazing grounds were the area to the south of the town, near the airport and adjacent to the Baie and Badda Buna Rivers. The main suppliers of sheep and goats to the town were the districts of Dedo, Assabdābo and Sarbo.⁵³ During the period under discussion, the production and marketing of hides and skins in Jimmā proceeded through two channels: the abattoirs and the traditional system.

According to informants, the first modern abattoir was established during the Italian occupation. The abattoir was located in the southwestern side of the town. It has since its establishment served as one of the main sources of hides and skins production. The marketing circuit for hides and skins was very limited, the number of middle man being small. The quality of hides and skins was also considered better due to better flaying facilities and carving.⁵⁴

In the traditional system, skins or hides originated from individual households. The marketing channel was slightly longer here. An itinerant trader would collect fresh green or dried hides and skins from villages and sell to village collectors. The village collectors sold to *Warādā* town collectors who again trucked their collections for sale to bigger collectors in Jimmā. The big collectors finally exported the bulk of

hides and skins to exporter in Addis Ababā.⁵⁵ The supply of hides and skins in Jimmā was characterized by seasonal fluctuation. It seemed to increase in September when the national holidays such as the Ethiopian new year and *Masqal* were celebrated; and perhaps followed by January (*Tir*) during which marriage and religious holidays tend to be frequent. An increase in production also occurred during Id Al Fatir and RamAdān holidays owing to the presence of a large Moslem population. Hotel and restaurants also produced considerable quantities of hides and skins.⁵⁶

2.2.4 Manufacturing and Small-Scale Industry

Despite its economic importance as a rich agricultural area and despite the presence of a potentially good market for manufactured goods, Jimmā did not attract a significant level of investment in the industrial sector. Infact, very little industrial activity takes place in the town even at present. The fact is that the manufacturing sector in Ethiopia during the period under discussion was characterized by concentration in very few places, the most important being Addis Ababā, Nazret, Dire Dawa and Asmara. Only a few enterprises existed outside of these areas. This pattern of industrial development reveals that the pattern of regional distribution was uneven.⁵⁷

Small scale industries had begun to emerge in Jimmā during the Italian occupation. Grain milling was perhaps the oldest industry in the town. The first grain mill was a water driven mill established by two foreigners, an Armenian called Georgi and an Italian by the name of Bascal.⁵⁸ Since the Italian period, the number of grain mills grew in number.

However, small scale industrial activities in the town concentrated on two areas: wood processing and soft drinks production. In 1943, an Italian by the name of Dita Barjolla established the first saw mill on the site of the present Ethiopian Plywood Enterprises. After the departure of the Italians, *Rās* Masfin bought the saw mill from the Office of Custodian of Enemy Property.⁵⁹ In 1964, a ply wood factory was installed by an organization known as the Ethiopian Enterprise Ltd. It was owned by *Ras* Mesfin and run by an Italian manager called Mr. Dijoca. The Plywood factory, with its attached veneer mills, had a reported production capacity of 2500 cubic mts. per year. The factory provided jobs for about 250 temporary and 224 permanent laborers. The main products of this plant were plywood and veneer and, occasionally black boards. The main sources of raw materials for the factory were the forests of *Kaffā Awrājā*. A variety of trees also grew in woodlands in the *Jimmā* area also, including *Wānza*, *Zigbā*, *Tukur Incher*, *Bissānā* were to be found in extensively.⁶⁰

The second saw mill was installed in *Jimmā* in 1971 by *Ato* Abrāhām ZAlaqā. The third one was set up in 1970, as a joint partnership firm under the name of "Ya *Kaffā Inā ya Ilubābor Inchat Masantaqiyā*."⁶¹ By 1974 there were more than 40 privately owned small wood workshops in *Jimma*. The average employment per shop was about two to three persons, including the owner. In most of them the employees were family members. According to informants, their smallness hampered their competition with products of big firms imported from other regions. Some of them, however, were linked to the rural economy because they produced items of value for the rural population like timber.⁶²

After the Italian occupation, small firms producing soft and alcoholic drinks were established in the town. The first entrepreneurs in these fields were Armenian and Greek entrepreneurs. For instance, in 1943, Greek businessmen Varsha kavorkian and Kosta Antanatos established an Alcoholic factory. However, foreigners were quickly followed into the field by Ethiopians. Thus, in 1945 and 1947, two Ethiopians called Hunde Woyessa and Tafarrā Shārāw formed the "Limonara' and Aranciata" factories respectively. In 1960, the Armenian's Michel Estiphania and Nishan Azanican together with a Yemenite called Hassen Sherafu, established another 'Limonara' factory.⁶³

These firms produced drinks for the local market. They employed a maximum of ten people each and were more or less family enterprises.⁶⁴ However, due to weak salesmanship, the high prices of these drinks as compared to local drinks, many of them were not successful.

In the mid 1960s, the "*Saba Taj*," "Tangerlnā", "Lomlnāt" and "Super Cola", all products of a company called Societe Du Tedj D' Ethiopie Saba, began to be distributed in the town. Almost at the same time, the products of the Bottling Company of Ethiopia and the Abbai Bottlers Company like Pepsi-Cola, Mirinda, Coca Cola, Fanta, Sprite and Tonic, began to be widely circulated in and around Jimmā. The agents of these products were hotel owners and wholesale traders like *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno and Ato Ibrahim Mohammed. Consequently, unable to compete with these, many of Jimmā-based-small scale firms were forced to close down.⁶⁵

2.2.5 The Service Industry

The history of modern hotel service in Jimmā was related to the Italians. Prior to the Italian period, there were no modern hotels in the town. What existed were a few traditional drinking houses (*Taj* and *Tallā* places) located in *Shawā Bar* and *Mantinā*. The first and the oldest hotel in the town was The Ghion Hotel (the present Gibe Hotel). It was established by an Italian firm. The hotel provided services only to foreigners and high-ranking Ethiopian officials who were working for the Italians.⁶⁶

After the departure of the Italians, the hotel became an Ethiopian government property. It was rented to an Italian, a Mr. Veteriyo who run it up until 1960. In 1960 it was bought and owned by a *Waizero* Tsege Sharew who managed it until 1966. In 1966, the hotel was sold again to an Italian called Mr. Lyoni who ran it until the hotel was nationalized by the *Derg* in 1975. In 1966 the hotel was also renamed Gibe Hotel.⁶⁷

The second modern hotel was the present Gojab Hotel. Like the former one, this was also established to serve the Italian community. Shortly after the withdrawal of the Italians, in 1944, *Rās* Masfin Silashi bought and owned the hotel privately. Hence, the hotel was renamed as Masfin Hotel. According to informants, the hotel service declined sharply during this period. Consequently, Masfin employed an Italian called Mr. Biccirilo as hotel manager. The latter is said to have improved the Hotel and its services considerably. In the mid 1960s, Biccirilo bought the Hotel from *Rās* Masfin, and renamed it Gojeb Hotel (also known as Biccirilo hotel).⁶⁸

According to informants the earliest hotel run by an Ethiopian was the Tirunash Hotel. It was named after the owner of the hotel, *Woizero* Tirunash Dabalqe. She is also said to have been the first to have started a night club in Jimmā.⁶⁹ In the mid 1950s, following the coffee boom and improvement in

transportation and communication, there began to appear new hotels and liquor houses mostly owned by Gurāge and Tigrean individuals. The most important individuals prominent in the hotel business were *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno, Wolde Abagaz, Alamu Wolde, Admasu Daraje, Fantaye Baqala, W/ro Amatā Māriām etc. By 1967, the town's hotel and restaurant service had come to include some 31 hotels, 68 restaurants and 77 bars.⁷⁰

Three of the hotels were "first class". They were the Gibe, the Gojab, and the Taka hotels. The latter was established by *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno, an energetic man who started his career selling alcoholic and soft drinks with many pack animals and retinue of servants. Later, he sub-contracted the Tawabach Hotel and built his business to higher levels. Besides the Hotel in his name he later opened a hotel of his own by the name of his wife, Dagitu.⁷¹

As noted above, the expansion of hotel services in Jimmā was the direct result of the development of commerce, related to the coffee trade and an increase of transportation and communication facilities. Some of the hotels, particularly those regarded to be the best in the town were owned by individuals who were directly or indirectly involved in large scale coffee plantation work in the districts.

Jimmā attracted a growing number of merchants from Addis Ababā, Waliso, Walqite, Agāro, Bongā, Dedo, Saqqā, Sakoru, Mizān Tafari etc. Various manufactured items like soaps, cigarettes, cups, glasses, mirror, sugar, soft drinks, alcoholic drinks etc. were brought from the capital. The main local products such as coffee, vegetables, cattle, hides and skins, musk, honey and wax etc. were also bought in from the surrounding countryside.⁷² The well organized web of markets

linking Jimmā to the surrounding markets facilitated the flow of goods to and from the town.

As indicated in chapter two, quite a large number of foreign citizens were engaged in commercial activities in Jimmā. This was particularly true of the Arabs whose number was continually on the rise ever since the departure of the Italians. There were at least 616 Arabs engaged in trade by 1957. Arab merchants played a significant role in both wholesale and retail trading. In Jimmā there still is a row

of shops known as *Arab Tarā* (The Arab quarter). The Arabs left the town in large numbers only in the early 1970s due to the prevalent political situation in the country.⁷³

Another group of expatriates who were no less influential in commercial activities in the town were Indian merchants. They were mainly engaged in the import and distribution of textiles. The prominent Indian textile merchants were Akbar Ali, Ali Gulan, Mohammed Ali, Tahir Estudio, Seifadin Mohamad Ali.⁷⁴

There were also Italian civilians who for one reason or another had remained behind in Jimmā when the forces of occupation left. They involved in businesses of one kind or another. Oral informants and various archival sources in the municipality of Jimmā show that the Italians ran auto-Mechānic shops, bakeries, flour mills and masonry shops. Italian engineers were employed by the municipality for the Technical Department. The most important figures in this respect were individuals known as Adolf Rocky, Musse Cecoria, Musse Andirio, Rozer Cantini, Pasro Palacale.⁷⁵

There was also a sizeable Greek and Armenian merchant community in Jimma. Members of the two groups were mainly engaged in the liquor trade. Following the Italian evacuation, Greek merchants like Vasha Kavorkian, K. Antanatos established liquor factories.

With the growth of commercial activities, several foreign-owned import and export companies established their branch offices in the town. One was A. Besse company, which was engaged in the import of textiles, petroleum products and building materials. It was also engaged in exporting coffee, musk, hides and skins.

The Mitchel-Colts company established its branch office in Jimmā in 1969. The company used to import cars (like Fiat, Land Rovers), tractors, tyres, different types of textiles and petroleum products. It exported coffee, musk and wax.⁷⁶ H.V.A. Ethiopia engaged in importing wonji-sugar products to the town. The Safarian company started operating in Jimma in 1967. It concentrated on the distribution of textiles and salt and the exporting of civet wax, hides and skins.⁷⁷

Four gasoline companies operating in Ethiopia, i.e. Shell, Total, Mobil and Agip, established stations in the town between 1952 and 1960. There were about 11 petrol stations in the town by 1966 owned by these four companies.

All these trading companies were a good source of income to the municipality of Jimma. For instance, the following chart shows the amount of tax paid by the three fuel stations from 1957-1961 E.C.

Name of the Company	Benzine in Litre	Kerosine	Fuel	Oil	Tax paid Bir.0.02 per one Litre
Mobil	1,783,412	4,816,530	231,468	48,204	138,647.88
Standard (Shell)	945,342	1,288,548	49,885	-	43,057.30
Caltex (Total)	137,600	578,200	-	-	14,116.00
Total	2,866,354	6,673,278	281,353	48,204	195,821.18

Source:- JTAO, File No. 004/33

Business Establishments by Type and Number in 1965/66

<u>Types of Establishment</u>	<u>Total Number of Merchants</u>
Hotels	31
Bars	177
Restaurants	68
Textile Shops	44
Pharmacies	7
Flour Mills	24
Soft Drink Factories	3
Saw Mills	4
Mechanical workshops	6
Wood Works	56
Fuel Stations	11
Retail Shops	188
<i>Taj Bets</i>	71
Barber Shops	20
Laundries	2
Stationaries	2
Limestone Quarries	4
Tailors Shops	29
Butcheries	20
Gold Smiths	5
Bakeries	6
Cinemas	1
Photographic Studios	11
Tea Houses	53
Shoe Repair Shops	14
Food Groceries	18

Source:- Extracted from different files of Jimmā town Administration
Office of Tax Department

As has been stated already, one of the factors that hastened the growth of trade in Jimmā during the period under discussion was the improvement of road transportation in the southwest. The extension and improvement of roads worked as a magnetic factor, bringing merchants and laborers from various parts of the country to the town and thus enhancing the growth of the town's population. The improvement of transport facilities made possible the smooth flow of resources to Jimmā's markets.

As coffee started to play a pivotal role in the national economy of the country the Imperial Ethiopian Government took measures to improve old roads and construct new ones. The highway program which was financed by the World Bank and the Ethiopian Government was launched in 1951.⁷⁸ Accordingly, under the First High Way Program of 1951-1957, out of a total of 1525kms of road constructed and maintained, 335kms connected Addis Ababā to Jimmā.⁷⁹

In the second Highway program of 1957-1965, the Jimmā - Agāro Road (45kms) and the Jimmā - Bongā road (122 kms) were built. Particularly the construction of the Jimmā-Agāro road was motivated by economic objectives since the main coffee growing areas in the Kaffā province, such as Mānnā, Yebu, Hāro, Bilidā Limmu etc. were located along this road. One of the achievements of the second High Way Program was that the coffee and grain growing regions were connected to each other. The attention to grain traders arose from the fact that grain had to be imported into the region because of specialization in coffee. The construction of this road had greatly contributed to the growth of previously small settlements like Hāro and Yebu as collecting points for coffee.⁸⁰

The Third High Way program was initiated in 1965. It was designed to extend the network further into other coffee-growing areas of the southwestern provinces. As a result, the road was extended to the town of Badälle, which was subsequently to grow into a point of connection between Jimmā and Ilubābor.⁸¹ In the Fourth High Way program of 1968 - 73, the Jimmā - Suntu (74kms) road was constructed.⁸² One of the practical results of the building of the new roads was a rise in coffee exports. Informants argue that the Jimmā-Bongā and Jimmā-Badalle roads had an impact that went beyond the areas immediately around Jimmā. The roads connected the region with provinces like Shawā and Wollagā, from which cereals and pulses were imported to the southwest. Local products from Wollagā also began to be imported to Jimmā markets via Badalle.⁸³

Generally the availability of transport facilities made important contributions to the development of trade in Jimmā. The dialectic between transport infrastructure in general and road building in particular and the development of commerce and production in Jimmā and its surrounding confirms Herbert Mohrings point that:

*Highway investment unquestionably produces changes in the functioning of the economy and more broadly, societies as a whole. Any economic or social change traceable directly or indirectly to a high way investment is a "Highway investment effect."*⁸⁴

2.3 The Production, Marketing of Coffee & Its Impact on Jimmā and its Surroundings

2.3.1 The Production & Marketing of Coffee

Mekete Belachew, a geographer, identifies some major forces or factors, which have boosted the growth of towns in the aftermath of the Italian period. These are, firstly, the development of the modern road transport network, which had enhanced the growth of towns like Nazareth, Shāshamane and Awassa; secondly, towns such as Jimmā, Agāro and Ghimbi grew as major coffee collecting centers, due to the growth of coffee as a major cash crop. Mekete states that other towns developed as regional administrative centers. Among these were Bahrdar, Arba Minch, Mattu and Assala.⁸⁵ Other writers have also pointed out that Jimmā became one of the fastest growing towns in the southwest due to the growth of coffee production.⁸⁶ The relevance of the coffee economy to the growth of the town is one of the main focal points of this study. However, before drawing any conclusions as to whether Jimmā benefited from the coffee boom or not, it is necessary to take one important factor into consideration: the conditions of coffee production and marketing in the region.

Traditional coffee history asserts the Arabica coffee is native to Southern Ethiopia and was cultivated in the Gibe valley for many centuries. Reports of early foreign visitors to the Gibe valley, like that of G. Massaja, tell us that the Gibe region was a fertile region where coffee grew by itself, where it matures and produces perfect fruits without any need for cultivation.⁸⁷ Even today vast areas in the Jimmā and Kaffā zones are covered by wild coffee.

According to tradition, the cultivation of coffee in Jimmā and its surroundings began in earnest in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Subsequently

Jimmā, Limmu and Mizān Tafari *Awrajās* emerged as the most important coffee growing areas in the former Kaffā *Taklāy Gizāt*.⁸⁸ Jimmā and Limmu are still the most significant in southwestern Ethiopia for coffee production. These two areas enjoy the best combination of soil and climatic conditions for coffee cultivation. Their altitude ranges between 1600 to 2000 meters. Annual rainfall ranges between 1400 - 1600mm. The average monthly temperature ranges between 17°C to 22°C. Both *Awrajās* have rainfall almost throughout the year, with the lowest amount falling between December to March.⁸⁹

Coffee plantations are said to have developed in Limmu from the 1950s onwards. A good number of these plantations were owned by government officials like *Rās* Masfin Sileshi, *Fitāwrari* Gabre kristos, General Assefa Ayane, *Lij* Abāte Mulat etc. Around Agāro, a town located 45kms to the north-west of Jimmā, there were quite a large number of small peasant holdings. Overall, it is apparent that this area was the source of the largest volume of coffee that originated in the region.⁹⁰ In Jimmā *Awrajā*, particularly in Mānnā, most of the coffee was produced by peasant farmers. Even greater predominance of peasant farming is evident in Mizān Tafari, in areas like Gurā Fardā, Sheko and Tamanjā Yāzh.⁹¹

The expansion of coffee cultivation early in the twentieth century was a result of principally two factors: the development of transport infrastructure that made it possible to carry bulky agricultural produce over long distances (particularly river and railway transportation) and the keen interest in economic enterprise by the political - administrative elite (including local *bālābāts* and government officials).

By the 1920s, coffee was widely cultivated in the province and in the 1930s it had emerged as the most important export commodity. Since then, coffee has

stayed the course as the major cash crop in the region and a major source of income for peasants and elites alike.⁹²

But no sooner had coffee been established as the most important export commodity from the region that it faced some serious adversities, preventing coffee production from being taken up in the form of big plantations. One of these adversities was the world depression of the 1930's, which brought about the decline of the coffee market. The second was the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36 and the subsequent social and political dislocation. During the period of the Italian occupation, the supply of coffee was reported to be generally low. This was, at least in part, because the Italians focused more on the production of cereals like wheat to feed their large army.⁹³

Owing to the gradual stabilization of rural life and the improvements in the system of road transportation, the fifties and sixties were marked by tremendous development of coffee cultivation and marketing. These decades also saw increasing involvement by large-scale producers, including some government officials and local *bā/ābāts*. Peasant coffee cultivation also expanded. These years could really be said to have been the days of a "scramble for coffee."⁹⁴

Among the unforeseen outcomes of the expansion of coffee cultivation was the corresponding decline in food production. Available information suggests that this resulted from the reduction of the amount of land that could be used to produce food. More and more of the land was devoted to the production of coffee and less and less of it for the production of food crops. The problem was aggravated also due to the increase in the consumer population in the form of seasonal labourers. This led to a gradual rise in the prices of food items.⁹⁵

Informants and written sources confirm that the settlement project which the Imperial Government launched in the region in the 1950s contributed significantly to the alleviation of the problem of food supply for urban centers like Jimmā. This scheme made it possible for many landless peasants from the Shawān region to come and settle in Jimmā *Awrajā*. The settlers, who came from cereal crop producing areas of Shawā, were settled in the districts of Dedo, Tiro Afata, Saqa Chaqosa and Omo Nādā. All of these districts were suitable for cereal production. The settler farmers bought forty hectares of fertile government land for forty *Birr* each. In a bid to strengthen the settlers, they were freed from land tax for a period of four years.⁹⁶

The increasing development of coffee production and marketing in the southwest since the 1950s, notably in the provinces of Kaffā, Ilubābor and Wollagā, prompted the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE) to establish no less than nine branches in the region. The branch offices were established in Jimmā (two), Agāro, Limmu Suntu, Gore, Mattu, Gāmbellā, Dambi Dolo and Buno Bādälle. Owing to its economic potential and strategic importance, Jimmā also became the headquarters of the Western Ethiopia regional office of CBE.⁹⁷

The first CBE branch in Jimmā was actually established in 1947. The bank made available to the coffee grower very much needed credit facilities. By lending money to farmers and businessmen, the banks encouraged the tempo of economic growth. Due to the increasing number of customers, the second branch of the bank was opened in 1967 at Hirmātā. As of June 1972, 60-65 percent of the bank's loans went into the financing of coffee and coffee-related businesses.⁹⁸

Further credit facilities in support of the coffee economy came from the Development Bank of Ethiopia (DBE), which also established branches in the coffee growing districts. At the end of 1953, the first branch of DBE was established in Jimmā. The bank bought 5318 sq.mt. of land from *Rās* Masfin Sileshi, and built on it Jimmā branch as well as the western regional head quarters of DBE.⁹⁹

The bank granted what it called "Standard Coffee Development Loan" which averaged 5,000 Eth. *birr* for each coffee grower who owned at least one *gāshā* of forested or other kind of land suitable for coffee cultivation. The loan had to be paid back over a period of five years starting from the fourth year from the date of receiving the loan.¹⁰⁰ According to Huffangel, the Jimmā farmers had received about 48 percent of the 1.8 million *Birr* loan which was distributed to 533 coffee farmers.¹⁰¹ The importance of the Bank to the development of coffee cultivation was described by *Addis Zemen* as follows.

... $p \pm \# \dot{A} \ddot{O} k F \tilde{A} \acute{O}^2 \}$ $\acute{A} E ! " \frac{3}{4} p " \check{Z} ! " \ddot{O} \& \}$ $\check{s} \frac{3}{4} p^2 B' \acute{A} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} p \ddot{O} k F \tilde{A} \acute{O}^2 y \frac{3}{4} p " \check{Z}$
 $\check{N} p Y \neg \dot{+} \frac{3}{4} \tilde{x} \square \alpha G \pm \ddot{E} \sim \square ! " \square E N c c G \frac{3}{4} ,, E " \}$ $\alpha q \square \alpha " p N \% \acute{A} \check{N} " " \}$ $\frac{3}{4} \check{N} \square \pm r$
 $Z \zeta \{ \square ! " \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \dots q \square \alpha " \frac{3}{4} \check{N} \square \pm r Z \zeta \{ E q E p " \check{Z} M Y \}$ $\acute{A} \acute{A} Z \ddot{O} G \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \text{`E} p " \check{Z}$
 $\frac{3}{4} N \% \acute{A} ! " g Q \neg \dot{+} \square \check{s} \frac{3}{4} F \alpha O \check{z} Z \check{Z} \acute{E} \ddot{O} \ddot{o} \tilde{A}] \times G \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \square A " \square p \ddot{o} \}$ $J r G$
 $x x \check{z} E, q \square ! " \frac{3}{4} N \acute{A} ! " g \}$ $\square s \{ \neg \dot{+} \phi p M M \square \ddot{O} Z S X \tilde{A} U \zeta \square \cdot G \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \}$ ¹⁰²

The Bank started operation with the capital of 500,000 Eth. *Birr*, and with two branch offices; one at Jimmā and the other at Agāro. It had advanced about 261,000 Eth. *Birr* to coffee farmers and dealers for the years 1971 to 1972.¹⁰³ There is no doubt that the availability of these credit facilities facilitated the development of coffee production and marketing in Jimmā. Its role is, however, equally significant in enhancing the growth of the town by making funds available for the expansion of infrastructure and services.

According to Guluma, the development of modern coffee agriculture in the 1950 and 1960s was made possible by a combination of factors that included a steady and dependable supply of labour, availability of capital, social stability and favorable conditions for national and international marketing.¹⁰⁴ Behind the grand story of cash cropping in Jimmā and its surroundings, there are stories of individuals who played significant roles. Some, like *Dajāzmāch* Masfin Sileshi, were powerful and influential figures. Masfin, who was the governor general of Kaffā from 1944/45 to 1954/55, not only encouraged coffee farmers and merchants towards coffee cultivation and marketing, but also took up the job himself.¹⁰⁵

According to informants, in 1945 *Dajāzmāch* Masfin started the developing of a plantation on land that he had purchased at a palce called Baddā Bunā from the local *qoro* known as Bori Abbā Bogibo. Badda Buna is located at about five miles from Jimmā. The land already had some coffee on it. The development of the farm was started in earnest in 1947 with the clearing of the dense undergrowth. Additional coffee seedlings were also planted. Masfin took advantage of his power and influence with the local *qoros* to mobilize labour for his farm. The *qoros* recruited and deployed from 20-25 laborers each for work on the farm by taking turns. The labor was, of course, unpaid.¹⁰⁶

Mesfin had also other important coffee ventures. He consolidated a number of small but old coffee farms near *Sanno Gabaya* into a big farm. This farm later became the nucleus of the town of Gembe. The farm and the stretch of land that was developed into a plantation were owned by the heirs of Abbā Gero Abbā Fogi. Abbā Gero was one of the local *qoros* in the region. The family lost its property because Masfin wanted it, but were apparently compensated by a grant of land in the

district of Limmu. Mesfin had also a big farm land in Chalalaqi, located at 35kms from town of Limmu Ganat. It was a Mechanized and well - planned plantation. This land was apparently owned initially by *Rās Wolde Giorgis*. In 1956/57 its ownership was transferred to *Dajāzmāch* Masfin. The latter leased out some part of this land to Dutch and American entrepreneurs from 1956 to 1969 in return for substantial annual rent.¹⁰⁷

On each of these coffee plantations, migrant laborers who came mostly from the provinces of Wallo, Gondar, Gojjām and Shawā were employed. Commenting on the economic activity of *Dajāzmāch* Masfin Seleshi, Guluma states:

... coffee production was, for him, only a means of accumulating wealth. ... Considering his land grabbing methods and his use of forced peasant labor, Mesfin could simply be regarded as one of the traditional landlords ... Mesfin was not much interested in the transformation of coffee plantation [as a system of production]. . . [He was concerned very often with the accumulation of land and did so] frequently by using his official governmental position. He was also a land speculator. Between 1946 and 1954, over 50 percent of the land transaction registered at the land department of Kafa region [involved] Masfin and his family. His techniques of accumulation included forced purchase, acceptance of land as a 'gift' or confiscation.¹⁰⁸

Guluma's assessment, however, is not entirely correct since Masfin did contribute to the development of modern coffee agriculture in the Jimmā area. He leased out some parts of the Badda Buna plantation to five foreigners who worked to develop it a modern farm. Some part of the same plantation also served as a demonstration site for the Jimmā Agricultural College when it was established in 1952. It is important to note that the Badda Buna farm had grown into a 200- acre plantation.

Mesfin was also the founder of the Tana Company Private Association, whose seat was Addis Ababā but had branches in Jimmā, Agāro, Shebe Limmu, Saqqā, Dambi Dolo, Mattu and Bulqe Sodo. The company was established in order

to raise the standard of the Ethiopian coffee by using modern and scientific way of coffee hulling. This company also installed coffee hulling machines in Jimmā.¹⁰⁹

Besides *Dajāzmāch* Masfin the big names in the coffee industry of Jimmā and its neighbourhood were *Fitāwrari* Gabre Kristos Makonen, *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno, *Lij* Abāte Mulat, Mahari Endala, Berhanu Galatā, Gabra Kristos Marsie Hazan, Charnat Wolda Māriām, Takla Māriām Kāssāhun, *Woizaro* Aster Asfāw, Tsehāy Shifaraw, Ababach Gummā, YashiHarag Gummā, Mārthā G/Tsadiq etc.¹¹⁰

Remarkable among government officials in this list for entirely giving up their positions in government and becoming coffee growers were *Fitāwrari* Gabra Kristos and *Lij* Abata Mulāt.

Gabra Kristos Makonnen was the son of *Dajāzmāch* Makonnen Wassane, the governor of Sayo in the late 1920s. His grandfather *Fitāwrari* Wassane, was the governor of Gommā from 1907 to 1912.¹¹¹ Gabra Kristos was a civil servant in the Ministry of Interior and had no particular technical training related to coffee cultivation. He nonetheless bought government - owned land at a very low price of 30 Eth. *Birr* per *gāsha* and set up a coffee plantation and a maize farm of his own at *qochel*, 55km from Jimmā. In February 1960, on his own initiative, he traveled to Tanzania and Kenya where he visited coffee plantations and picked up ideas about how to improve his farm. He employed migrant laborers who came mostly from Wollo, Gondar, Gojjām, Kullo, Konta, Kambata and Gurāge. Besides migrant laborers, he also employed a few permanent laborers. He became not only the manager of the plantation but also the chief technician. In 1965, when the Gommā Coffee Farmers Cooperatives was established at Agāro with the assistance of the

Ministries of Agriculture and National Community Development, Gabra Kristos was among the prominent founders of the Association.¹¹²

Lij Abāta Mulāt was granted 360 hectares of land in Limmu Kossa district by Emperor Haile Sellassie in the mid 1940s. The land was granted to him and his sister, one *W/o Tateru*. The man had been in the civil service for some years, in the early 1940s, working in the Ministry of Finance. It is said that *Lij Abāta* was encouraged by *Dajāzmāch Masfin* to resign from his job and take up coffee cultivation. In the 1950s he added to his land fund by purchasing government owned land for 30 Eth. *Birr* per *gāsha*, near Suntu town, which was about at the same time renamed Limmu Ganat by *Dajāzmāch Masfin*.¹¹³ He was the owner of 2640 acre of excellent flat, Mechanizable farm land. He covered 352 acres of this land with coffee. According to the report of FAO experts, *Lij Abāta* paid a yearly taxation of 25 *Birr* per *gāsha* for uncultivated land and 80 *Birr* for cultivated land. The clearing, planting and cultivation during the first five years was estimated to have cost an average of 22.500 *Birr*. According to this report "this price [was] twice to three times cheaper than that [then] prevailing in Kivu, Congo,"¹¹⁴

Lij Abāta's farm both sun-dried and washed coffee. During the high picking season (December to January), 350 to 500 daily laborers were employed on his farm. Daily laborers engaged in cleaning coffee were usually paid 0.75 cents to one *Birr* per day. *Lij Abāta* was also among the few modern coffee growers to have sought professional support. He hired extension workers like *Ato Tilāhun Sasaba*, a graduate of Jimmā Agricultural and Technical School. The latter also worked as farm manager. Another remarkable element about *Lij Abāta* was that after visiting Germany and Britain in 1960, he made commercial agreements to export coffee to

Europe. His arrangements with German traders in Hamburg and Bermen in particular worked well.¹¹⁵

Probably the most notable member of Jimmā's mercantile elite who was engaged in commercial farming was *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno. Taka came to Jimmā from Gurage land shortly after the end of Italian occupation. He started work at Agāro as a distributor of alcoholic and soft drinks for a Greek entrepreneur. After a while he moved to Jimmā, where he took up the hotel business. In the mid 1950s, he established his own "Taka hotel" in the center of the town. Taka followed up his success in the hotel business by venturing into the coffee business. He started with cultivation of coffee and cereals in Gerā, at a place called Chirā, some 75 kms from Jimmā.¹¹⁶

In 1955/56 Taka started a new coffee plantation near Doyo in partnership with two foreign investors: a Mr. G. GalantInā and a Mr. Alexandrakin. The plantation commenced its activities with a capital of 450,000 *Birr*. It was laid out on 490 hectares of land. The plantation was so successful (being described by FAO experts as a modern plantation) that it earned him a prize from the Haile Selassie I prize Trust. The plantation exported washed coffee to Germany on the basis of a commercial agreement reached between Takā Egāno and the German company of H. Christen and Co. (Eth.) Ltd.¹¹⁷

With the expansion of coffee plantation, vast areas in the present Jimmā Zone were acquired for coffee cultivation. Particularly, business - minded elite from Addis Ababā attracted by the rise in world coffee prices, came to the region and invested in coffee production.¹¹⁸

The coffee boom, however, was not in the main the story of large plantations and plantation owners. Medium to small farm owners predominated and formed the real force. From 1967 onwards, these small businessmen setup an association known *Ya Jimmā Bunnā Gabarewoch Mahbar*.¹¹⁹ It consisted of some 36 coffee growers. The leader of the association was *Dajāzmāch Abbā Jabal Abbā Jifār*. The association was granted a loan of 47,000 *Birr* from the branch office of the Development Bank of Ethiopia to support its activities in the area of arranging for the marketing of the produce of its members.¹²⁰

As indicated earlier, with the growth of coffee production, the number of merchants engaged in coffee trade also increased. Coffee dealers established contacts in all the major coffee producing areas, and operated in all the local markets. The Jimmā coffee market became a hub into which coffee flowed from a variety of local markets to which small peasant producers brought their produce. Jimmā served as the biggest bulking point for coffee that found its way to Addis Ababā and Dire Dawa. The local markets were crowded with collectors who bought coffee from other collectors or directly from farmers. The collectors sold to wholesalers in Jimmā. The main local markets in the vicinity of Jimmā were Sarbo, Saqqā, Suntu, Yebou and Dedo.¹²¹ In accordance with a regulation promulgated in 1959, the National Coffee Board issued various types licenses to coffee dealers. Most coffee traders in Jimmā were holders of Licence 'B', which authorized them to purchase coffee for resale but not for export. There were 130 coffee traders in the town in 1969.¹²²

In Jimmā, Agāro and Mizān Tafari, wholesalers were licensed to buy coffee from collectors. In addition to an open market where transaction took place,

wholesalers purchased coffee in their houses and shops. Besides their involvement in coffee marketing, some of the wholesalers also owned in other businesses such as hotels, bars, drugstores. A good example in this regard was *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno who was a coffee grower, a wholesaler, an exporter and owner of two important hotels. He was also a distributor of alcoholic and soft drinks. Coffee producers and exporters like Mahari Endala and Berhanu Galatā doubled as owners of drugstores in Jimmā. Most coffee exporters, however, were foreign nationals.¹²³

2.3.2 The Impact of Coffee Cultivation and Marketing on Jimmā Town

The production and marketing of coffee in Jimmā and its environs has played a significant role in the social and economic life of both the urban and rural populations. Jimmā, like many towns in southwest Ethiopia, is a cash crop town. Small farmers, in the immediate neighborhood of the town, who constituted the largest proportion of coffee producers, sold their produce directly in Jimmā town. An important characteristic of Jimmā as a coffee town is that it had, what one might call a seasonally varying pulse. The pulse reached a climax during the months of December and January. It also varied from year to year, picking in the years of good harvest.

Informants state that a "good coffee year," that is a year combining abundant production with good prices, would be marked by a rise in all economic activities in the town. During the coffee-harvesting season, farmers became very affluent and liquid: feeding, clothing themselves and living better. Weddings and engagement ceremonies became ubiquitous during these periods. After selling coffee, farmers devoted much of their time in relaxing with their peers in hotels, bars and liquor houses of the town.¹²⁴

Service related businesses would be established or be activated when proceeds from coffee are earned. The number of bars, restaurants, tea rooms, *Tallā* and *Taj bets*, general merchandise shops etc. would increase. The town would be crowded not only by rural visitors but also by migrant labourers in transit and by prostitutes.

In general, when coffee prices turned out to be good there would be pronounced buoyancy in all economic activities throughout the town. Jimmā shared this buoyancy with the whole region and even with the whole country. However, the problem with the coffee industry, as with many other cash crop based industries is the fact that prices are not stable. The world prices for coffee sometimes went up and sometimes came down to disastrous lows. Just as the economic temperature of Jimmā rose at times of good prices, it went into near freezing point at times of fallen prices. Likewise, just as many service related businesses would be established and or expanded in a "good coffee year" many bars, shops and other businesses would be closed during "a bad coffee year".¹²⁵

Experts, of course, explain rises and falls in coffee prices in terms of external developments, not local developments. They say that price swings that characterized the Ethiopian coffee market were not, therefore, a matter about which Ethiopian producers and traders can do much. Sometimes, however, depressed earnings could result (and did result) from internal developments like virulent attack by the Coffee Berry Disease (CBD). The presence of CBD in Ethiopia was confirmed in 1971. By 1974 it was widely spread over the four important coffee growing regions, namely, Kaffā, Wollagā, Sidamo and Ilubābor. According to a report of the national Coffee Board of Ethiopia planning unit, the highest loss of coffee production was

observed in Kaffā in 1974. It was estimated to have amounted to 31 percent of total harvest.¹²⁶

A sudden decline in coffee prices also affected the income of the town's municipality. This is because the most important source of income for the municipality was income tax collected from businesses and transit taxes collected from transport operators engaged in coffee hauling.¹²⁷

In spite of the seasonal sense of prosperity that it did bring about, the development of coffee production and marketing did not have substantial, visible and positive effect on the economy of the town. Individual producers and coffee dealers profited from the trade, but not the town. Among the factors, which explain this state of affairs, the first and probably most important was the fact that most of the merchants, at least up to the mid 1960s, were expatriate. Almost all, therefore, did not invest in the town. Profits were repatriated to their respective countries. As indicated in chapter two, the municipality of Jimmā registered 1188 foreigners in the town in 1967/68, of which 846 were Arab merchants mostly involved in businesses related to coffee. These foreign merchants ran their business from premises they rented, making little or no investment in the development of the town. The indigenous coffee dealers and modern coffee growers likewise did little investment in the town. The only exception in this regard was *Qaññāzmāch* Takā Egāno who put substantial investment in the Hotel business. Most of the absentee farmers resided permanently and invested mainly in Addis Ababā.¹²⁸

At first the departure of the Arabs in the early 1970s appeared to have given opportunities to indigenous (mostly Gurāge) merchants. However, just as some of these merchants started to accumulate capital and investing in the town, the

Ethiopian Revolution struck. For nearly twenty years since, coffee trade was tightly controlled from the center in the context of the command economy. Very little income actually went to the farmer, much less to the trader. There was thus very little spill over effect on the town from coffee production and trading. In the words of the town's men “Jimma served as a transit for coffee production and marketing. It did not benefit from it.”¹²⁹

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE PEOPLING OF JIMMĀ AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIO-CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

The inhabitants of Jimmā are made up of diverse occupational and linguistic/ethnic groups. The early inhabitants were mostly migrants who came to the area for a variety of reasons. In fact the history of the peopling of Jimma is the history of migration to the town. Probably the most interesting aspect of the urban demography of Jimma is the fact that occupational and linguistic/ethnic groups were closely associated so that one or more occupations could be related to membership in a specific group. This was much more true of the earlier period, of course, than of the later periods. Nor is the relationship between occupation and group membership absolute and orthodox. It is, however, striking and remarkable.

The occupational groups, informants say that among the earliest settlers of Jimmā were Oromo-speaking traders collectively known as *Afkālā*. They originated from all over the Gibe region, although those who predominated in Jimma were made up of two main clans: the *Baddi* and the *Diggo*. Before the *Diggo* extended their domain and moved towards the plains below Jiren, the *Baddi* Oromo appear to

have been dominant in Hirmātā and its surroundings. Later on, the *Diggo* by gaining the Jiren area obtained control of the great market and trade of Hirmātā.¹

The *Afkālā* traders dominated trade in the Gibe region, but they also traveled as far as Baso, Gondar, and Massawa in the north and, to Bāle and Ginir in the south to sell their merchandise. These brave entrepreneurs initially were not as strong as the *Jabarti*, Moslem traders from Gondar, Gojjām, Wollo, Shawā and Harar, who had big capital, experience of long distance trade and organizational skills.²

It is said that it is the formation of the state of Jimmā Abbā Jifār and the subsequent shift of the center of regional exchange from Saqqā to Hirmātā that provided the *Afkālā* with a good opportunity to strengthen their commercial position.³

The other occupational category belonging to the Oromo-speaking settlers of Hirmātā and Jiren were craftsmen and artisans. These were collectively known as *Ogessā* (skilled persons). The major *Ogessās* were the black smith (*Tumtu*), the carpenters, the potters (*Fugā*), the tanners (*faqī*) and the weavers (*Shammāne*). The smiths made sickles, axes, spears, horse trappings, and swords, and jewelry. They also decorated shields. Tanners produced leather clothes as well as shields and whips out of buffalo hides. Leather was also used for the production of locally made foot wear, beds, etc.

The other important linguistic group in the town in terms of number seem to have been the Amharic speakers. The Amharic speaking population of the town originated from the regions of Gondar, Gojjām, Wollo and Shawā. Among the early settlers belonging to this group were long - distance traders who were also predominantly Moslem. This community of traders was collectively known as *Naggade*.⁵

There are indications that the *naggade* started to settle in the present area of Jimmā from about the 1830s.⁶ At the beginning they resided in *Mandarā* establishing their residential quarters in groups according to their specific places of origin in the north. There were thus *Mandarā Wollo*, *Mandara Gojjām*, *Mandarā Gondar*, etc. After the decline of *Mandarā* around the 1920s, most of them transferred their seat to *Hirmātā*.⁷

Other Amharic speakers came as mercenaries during the reign of Abbā Jiffar II. According to a late nineteenth century source, there were in Jimmā about 1500 mercenaries of northern origin known as *Zabāñā* (guard men). They were paid regular salaries and permanently stationed in and around the palace, acting both as palace guards and as personal bodyguards of the king.⁸

The biggest and the major body of Amharic speakers came to Jimmā in and after the early 1930s, in the wake of centralization drive and administrative reorganization by *Rās* Tafari (later Emperor Haile Selassie). Governors, administrative officials, soldiers, clerical workers, priests, judges and others mainly from Shawā came to reside in the town.⁹ During the Italian period (1936-1941) many of these joined the resistance movement since the anti-Amhara desposition of both the Italians and the local ruling families of Jimmā made the place inhospitable for the group. After the departure of the Italians a considerable number of new Amhara settlers and resettles came to Jimmā to work in various capacities.¹⁰

Still an additional major surge in the population of northerners in general and Amharic speakers in particular came about in the 1950s and 1960s, with the rise in coffee prices and the improvement of transport and communication between Jimmā, its surroundings and the rest of the country. Migrants from northern Ethiopia and

other regions came to Jimmā in search of employment and better income. These later migrants appear to have had a higher level of economic entrepreneurship and motivation than the previous groups.¹¹

Finally, there were also migrants from Wollo and Tigray who came to Jimmā during the severe drought and subsequent famine of the early 1970s. Many of these forced migrants hoped to return home with some resources and start up capital. Some apparently did. But many remained in Jimmā permanently.¹²

The Dawro, Kafficho and Yam speakers are three other linguistic groups residing in the town of Jimmā. There had been strong ties and contacts between Jimmā (state) and the homelands of these people as a result of the long distance trade.¹³ Slaves, the most important article of trade in the market of Jimmā from 1870's to the 1920's, were brought mainly from the home regions of these people. After the abolition of slavery the ex-slaves continued to reside in the town, engaged mainly in domestic work. During the Italian period, many of them served as labourers in the road construction projects. A good number of the current inhabitants of Jimmā are descendants of these people.¹⁴

According to informants, a large number of Kafficho, Dawro and Yam speakers moved to Jimmā in the post liberation period, because of population pressure in their home areas. Due to limited opportunities in their respective areas they sought to improve their welfare by operating as traders or farmers in Jimmā.¹⁵

During the 1960s, young men from the homelands of these communities moved to Jimmā in pursuit of urban opportunities including schooling and jobs. Poor communication with major markets had made it impossible for them to benefit from

the expansion of agriculture in their home regions. Migration to the town had become a way-out of growing poverty for many.¹⁶

The boom in coffee prices and the expansion of coffee plantation in the Limmu and Jimmā *Awrajās* was the other factor for the attraction of many members of these communities. They made up the majority of the labour force in the newly established coffee plantations in the region. Indeed, the Kaffā, Yam and Dawro labourers played an immense part in the development of coffee plantaiton.¹⁷

The other significant linguistic group in Jimmā town are the Gurāge. Amongst the most active long distance traders who visited the market of Jimmā from the nineteenth century onwards were the Gurāge of Soddo. They were the main suppliers of salt, woven cloth, ornaments of various types and tobacco to the markets of Jimmā. However, the number of Gurāges actually residing in Jimmā before the Italian invasion was very limited compared to other groups. Those who did live there engaged indiscriminately in any trade.¹⁸ It is widely believed that the homeland of the Gurāge in what was formerly known as Shawā was one of the most densely populated areas of Ethiopia. Population density on land with limited fertility had been the main push factor for the out migration of the Gurāge from their home region.¹⁹

It was on the very eve of Italian occupation that a substantial number of Gurāge came to settle in the town. The main reason for their migration in the early 1930s was the need to obtain cash through migratory wage labour. During the Italian occupation, the Gurāge speaking community were involved in the Addis Ababā - Welqite - Jimmā road construction, which further stimulated the process of out migration.²⁰ The settlers came to participate in numerous forms of employment, mainly in domestic work, manual labour and trade. They were also engaged in

handicrafts work. Gurāge handicrafts and artisans first settled in the present *Sarātañā Safar*.²¹ Most of them were black smiths, engaged in the production of instruments like knives, axes, plough shares, etc.

The largest influx of Gurāges to the town took place, however, at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s. This was probably in part due to particularly difficult conditions in most parts of rural Ethiopia at about that time associated with drought. The increasing demand for labourers in coffee growing areas around the town during the peak month of coffee harvest, also attracted labourers from Gurāge land in significant numbers.²²

Besides the major linguistic communities mentioned above, there were also other minor groups almost all of them immigrants into the town. This included the Hādyā, Kambata and Wolāytā speakers. Members of these groups, notably the Hādyā, had been engaged in activities like carpentry, daily labour, etc. Among ever smaller groups were immigrants from Tigray and Eritrea, engaged in the hotel business, gold smithing, garage and transport businesses.²³

3.1. Foreigners

Oral and written sources indicate that during the reign of Abbā Jifār II a few Indians, Arabs and Armenians had settled in the town. The area east of the Aweyitu River was then the quarter for Indian merchants, being referred to as "Hindoch Safer".²⁴ Many of these foreigners managed branch offices of foreign companies owned by French, Swiss, Syrian and Arab merchants, engaged in wholesale and retail trade. *Sheik* Saleh Karam and Said Mohammed, among the Arabs, Ali Akbar and Mohammed Akbar among the Indians were among the prominent merchants of Jimmā very early in the twentieth century.²⁵

The Indian, Arab and occasionally Greek entrepreneurs who established their compounds in Hirmātā had engaged in long-distance trading. They exported from Jimmā coffee, skins, hide, wax, musk, and ivory and imported textiles and manufactured items of various kinds.²⁶

The number of foreigners was, however, negligible in the period before the Italian occupation. Their role in the commercial activity of the town was not as significant as it did become in the post- Italian period.

The population of the town of Jimmā grew considerably during the Italian period, owing to settlement of large number of Italian soldiers and functionaries in the town and the migration of ordinary folk seeking employment. Jimmā had become the most densely populated large town in southwest Ethiopia by 1938. An estimate for that year put the population size at fifteen thousand inhabitants, of which about five thousands were Italians.²⁷ Most of them lived in Hirmātā, causing the conversion of the name of the place into *Faranj Arādā* (quarter for foreigners). Records show that one of the most striking demographic characteristics among the foreigners was the gross imbalance between the sexes in favour of males. This was obviously due to the predominance of soldiers, technicians and engineers among the Italians. The male-female ratio among the Italians in Jimmā was 100:6.7.²⁸

In the immediate post- liberation period, retail commerce in Jimmā seems to have come under the control of Arab (Yemeni), Indian and Greek traders. The Yemeni merchants were the most numerous and came to run the grocery stores, tea rooms as well as other retail businesses. There were quite a large number of retail shops in *Shawā Bar* which were actually built during the Italian period. This row of shops came to be owned mainly by Arab merchants who supplied the town with

commodities imported from Addis Ababā, Asmara and overseas. The Indian merchants engaged mainly in clothes and garments.

Through time the foreign population of Jimmā came to include Armenian, Sudanese, Italian, American and Jewish residents. For most of them the attraction of Jimmā was economic. They operated in the fields of commerce, hotel and transportation. Others were technicians, electricians and auto-mechanics.²⁹ [For the picture upto the middle of the 1950s, see table 1 and 2]. There were also medical doctors and nurses hired by the Imperial government of Ethiopia to service the *Rās Dastā Damtaw* Hospital built in 1938. There were a few American missionaries who came for the purpose of evangelizing among the local people. In 1960/61 there were more than 30 Jewish residents, employees of an Israeli firm Solel Boneh and Associates, a private engineering company engaged in the construction of the Jimmā - Agāro road.³⁰

For 1967/68 the municipality of Jimmā registered some 1188 foreign residents of whom 846 were Arab merchants. There were about 254 owners of general merchandise shops and 130 coffee traders and thirty five hotel owners in the town excluding owners of other businesses such as auto-Mechanics workshops, butcheries etc... The number of foreigners has grown by an additional 220 persons by 1971, reaching the figure of 1408.³¹

Overall, it can be said that the majority expatriate merchants in the town were engaged in import-export business. Their number was drastically reduced after the Revolution of 1974 due to the restrictive economic policy of the government and the prevalent political situation.³²

Table 1. Number of Foreign Residents in Jimmā (1942 - 1955)

	Year
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Nationality	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Yemenities	504	532	545	572	579	587	593	601	616	626	632	636	637	652
Indians	21	26	26	27	29	29	29	29	29	31	31	31	35	37
Greeks	18	18	20	20	20	21	22	22	22	22	23	23	23	24
Armen	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Egyptian	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-		-	-	-	-	-
Turkish	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-		-	-	-	-	-
Sudan	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	17	17	17	17	17	17
American	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	7	7	9
Yugoslav	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	4	4
Italian	-	-	-	18	34	55	64	67	67	67	67	69	69	73
Israel	-	-	-	-	-		-				11	28	33	33
Others	2	3	3	3	-		-				4	3	3	3

Source:- JTAO, "Ya Wich Zagoch Mazgab".

Table 2. Foreign Residents In terms of Occupation (1942 -1950)

Occupation	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Merchants, Sales & Retail	489	499	503	527	530	530	534	544	555
Hotel (Restaurant)	14	14	16	16	16	16	18	181	18
Drivers	40	40	44	52	52	56	57	58	58
electrician	-	-	1	3	8	10	10	10	10
Autistic	3	3	5	3	3	3	3	3	3
Carpenters	-	-	3	8	25	25	25	25	23
Massonery	6	6	8	9	9	17	17	17	18
General Mechanics	-	-	3	8	25	25	25	25	13
Engineers	-	-	1	1	1	5	5	5	5
Teachers	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6
Students	9	14	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
Doctor/Nurses	2	7	8	8	8	8	8	9	9
Milling Workers	-	-	1	1	3	6	6	6	6
Others	-	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4

Source:- JTAO, "Ya wich zagoch mazgab".

3.2 Migration

Urbanization in southwestern Ethiopia is a complex processes including, among other things, the immigration of thousands of people to the towns from rural areas near and far. Scarcity of land, agricultural stagnation, poverty and famine are mentioned as major push factors for large scale out migration form the points of origin. The desire for modern education, for health and other social services, for wage employment, as well as the excitement of city life and expectation of earning high incomes are believed to be the urban "pull factors."³³

There are strong indications that the growth of some of the major towns in Ethiopia also owes itself to migration from other smaller towns. According to Alula, urban centers like Jimmā had more than one of third of their populations made up of migrants coming from other towns.³⁴

The official CSO census of 1966 reveals that out of the total population of Jimmā town, migrants accounted for 50%. Foreign nationals accounted for less than 3% of the total population.³⁵

Table 3. Total Population (1965/66)

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Ethiopian	13590	86.7	15020	97.7	28610	97.2
Foreign	460	3.3	350	2.3	810	2.8
Total	14050	100%	15370	100%	29420	100%

Source:- CSO, *Report on a Survey of Jimmā*, p.2.

Table 4. Population by Length of Residence

Length of Residence	Māle	%	FeMāle	%	Total	%
Born in Jimmā	6810	48.4	7870	51.2	14680	50
Residing less than one year	1070	7.6	1080	7.0	2150	7.3
Residing between 1-5 years	2570	18.0	2870	18.7	5390	18.3
Residing 6 years over	3650	26	3550	23.1	7200	24.4
Total	14050	100%	15370	100%	29420	100%

Source:- CSO, *Report on a Survey of Jimmā*, p.2.

There was a slight predominance of females over males among the relatively new migrants of the town. However, the sex ratio among immigrants to Jimmā was among the closest.

In terms of age the census reports that migrants to Jimmā were mainly young and economically active people of 15 to 39 years of age on the average. This was "a

type of more stable immigration pattern expected in a prosperous center where opportunities for employment are good."³⁶

Migration to Jimmā was encouraged both by the diversification of the economy and the development of cash cropping and by unrealistic expectations of opportunities of employment.

In general, one can speak of broadly two categories of migrants. Long-distance migrants and short-distance migrants. The long distance migrants consisted of those who came from northern and central Ethiopia during different historical periods. For the purpose of our discussion, this group can further be broken down into two broad groups: the pre 1950 and the post 1950. The immigrant settler prior to 1950 initially consisted of people who arrived in the town in pursuit of long-distance trade or in search of personal fortune out of employment with the kingdom of Jimmā under Abbā Jifār. From the early 1930's on, as already pointed out, a substantial addition to the population was made as a result of the centralization process and then as a result of the restoration of the Ethiopian government after the Fascist occupation. This population was made up of administrators, judges, priests, soldiers, tax collectors, and other civil servants as well as their dependents.

The post 1950 settlers mainly came to the region as seasonal labourers. The pace of migration to Jimmā was much accelerated from the 1950's onwards with the spread of coffee production particularly in Kaffā and Ilubābor provinces. Coffee cultivation attracted a large number of seasonal labourers for whom the town served as a transit point through out the year. The migratory flow involved the more active population in the range of 15-29 years of age.

The coffee boom of the 1950s, and the growth of the population created the improvement of transportation and demand for a variety of urban services, a fact which enhanced the arrival of further migrants to the town in search of employment opportunities. This category of migrants consisted largely of wage labourers and coffee traders, as well as bar girls.³⁷ But there were also retail shop keepers, tailors, etc. According to Wood, this flow of seasonal migrants increased the size of the local population by 5-10% [in the whole province of Kaffa].³⁸

During the severe drought of the early 1970's, some migrants from the northern highlands, particularly from Wollo and Tigray, moved to the area in response to the natural disaster. Some of these migrants remained in Jimmā as daily labourers and domestic workers.³⁹

In the category of short distance migrants, we include those who came from the immediate surroundings of Jimmā, such as Kaffā, Yam, Dawro, Wolliso, Baddalle, Arjo, Gummā, Gerā, etc. As has been stated above there had been a long-standing commercial interaction between Jimmā (the kingdom) and the homelands of some of these people. The Italian period also saw a significant concentration of population in Jimmā from the surroundings. The Dawro, in particular, are said to have been involved extensively in road construction as daily labourers. A considerable number of them thus came to reside in the town.

In the period after 1950, short distance migrants usually came in the hope of obtaining capital for trading through employment in the coffee harvest. Young men, who believed that "to be educated improves a persons' social standing" came in search of opportunities for education.⁴⁰ Official reports show that about half of Jimmā's school population of 1967, came from the neighbouring country side and

towns. Out of some 4285 pupils more than 2000 were not permanent residents of the town.⁴¹ Among the few secondary schools that existed in Kaffā province, the largest was the *Miāziā* 27 secondary school of Jimmā. Students who completed grade eight from almost all over the southwest, but particularly Kaffā, Mizān, Konta, parts of Bunno Badālle and the like came to Jimmā to join this secondary school.⁴²

Informants say that young unmarried men also flocked to the town as temporary migrants for the purpose of raising funds for marriage. They say also that farmers short of capital to replace oxen lost to disease or old age came to the town in search of employment, particularly during the coffee harvesting season.⁴³

What the town could offer to these migrants was, however, limited. The role of the industrial sector in the town's economy was almost negligible. The town's economy was based on agricultural activities in its hinterlands. The mismatch between job opportunities and continues in- migration meant that there was considerable unemployment, leading to desperation and thus to activities like crime and prostitution. According to the police, crime, particularly Juvenile delinquency had become very serious by the 1970s.⁴⁴ Poor women had to sustain themselves in the town through prostitution .⁴⁵

During the period under discussion Jimmā was the capital of Kaffā province. This meant that it was home for regional-level offices of the Ethiopian government as well as for public institutions of different kind. Besides regional and district governorate offices there were seven elementary, two junior and one senior secondary schools; a teacher training institute, and a college of agriculture. There were also offices of military regiments and a number of branch offices of public organizations.⁴⁶ The significance of this for the demography of the town is that many

people came to the town from different parts of Kaffā province in search of services as well as legal and administrative decisions. For some, this led to permanent settlement in the town, both because of the lure of town and because transacting government business usually took long time and discouraged return back home.

As far as the occupational structure of the population of the town is concerned, the official CSO document in 1966 classified gainful employment in Jimmā into twenty-two kinds of activity.⁴⁷ The list can, however, be reworked into essentially four categories, namely, agriculture and livestock breeding (and related activities); handicraft and industrial activities; commerce and services.

For 1966, the number of person engaged in agriculture and animal breeding was 1400. This number made-up something like 15.7 percent of the total working population. Crafts men and workers in small scale manufactures added upto 1190, representing 13.4% of the total working population.⁴⁸

Commerce had been the main source of income for Jimmā's population. In 1966, the number of persons engaged in commerce and the management of commercial establishments was 1520, equivalent to 17 percent of the total working population. Most commercial activities were of course related to coffee exporting.⁴⁹ Workers in transportation and communication accounted for 3% of the total working population. There were 270 workers of the transport and communication services in 1965/66.⁵⁰

Public administration had been one of the sectors with the greatest number of employees. There were 1250 persons (that is 14% of the whole employed population) in 1965/66.⁵¹ This is quite understandable since Jimmā was the capital of the province. Besides the government offices, it was the location of the branch

offices of the Central Coffee Board, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia and the Development Bank of Ethiopia. The service workers, of course, constituted the greatest number of employees. In 1966 there were 2520 persons accounting for 28.3% the working population. The major services included Banking and tourism, the latter supported by some 31 hotels (3 big hotels) and 68 restaurants.⁵²

Table 5. Population by Occupational Group (1966)

Occupation	No. of People	%
Technical workers	120	1.3
Professors and Teachers	180	2.0
Other Professional Workers	110	1.2
Managers and Administrators (except retail stores)	100	1.1
Clerical Workers	230	2.6
Sales Workers	1420	16.0
Farmers, Farm Workers & Grazers	1400	15.7
Lumber Men	10	0.1
Chauffeurs, Drivers & Delivery Men	200	2.2
Locomotive Engineers and Locomotive fire Men	20	0.2
Communication Occupation	50	0.6
Craftsmen, Production Procession Workers & Labourers	10	0.1
On Metal & Metal Products	260	3.0
On Textiles & Leather	240	2.7
On Fabricating Textiles & Leather Products	20	0.2
On Wood and Wood Products	80	0.9
Others Except Labourers	100	1.1
Labourers Except Farm, Mine & Service	470	5.3
Protective Service Workers	740	8.3
Service Workers (except protective)	2520	28.3
Workers not Classified by Occupation	530	6.0
Members of Armed Forces	100	1.1
Total	8,910	100

Source:- *Report on A Survey of Jimmā*, p. 16

3.3. RELIGION

3.3.1 Orthodox Christianity

The exact time when Christianity was introduced in Jimmā is not known. But there are some indications that there were a few followers of Orthodox Christianity in Abbā Jifār's Jimmā before the early 1930s. Informants say that when Menelik and Abbā Jifār II formalized their relationship in 1882, Menelik had agreed not to build churches within Jimmā's boundaries. The Church usually followed northern settlers into the new territories after conquest. But this did not apply in the case of Jimmā, perhaps owing to the provisions of the agreement of 1882. There had, therefore, been no churches in the town until the beginning of the 1930s. As a result, it is said that Christian settlers were forced to go as far away as *Fofā* and *Limmu*, some to 60 and 80kms respectively, to bury their dead, to baptize their children and to partake of annual celebrations of Saints.⁵³

Following Jimmā's incorporation, however, there had been a gradual influx of Orthodox Christians to the town. This increase in the number of northern and central Ethiopians could be regarded as an immediate factor for the establishment of churches.⁵⁴

A person who was responsible for the establishment of the first church in Jimmā was *Nagādrās* Yagilu,⁵⁵ district judge of Jimmā appointed in 1925. *Nagādrās* Yagilu had "secretly" communicated the problem of lack of churches in Jimmā to *Rās* Tafari, with whom he corresponded regularly. Eventually, despite opposition from the Muslim community and the reluctance of Abbā Jifār, *Nagādrās* Yagilu succeeded in getting a positive consideration of his request by *Rās* Tafari.⁵⁶ Infact, he

succeeded in getting financial support for his project from the *Rās*. According to informants, the necessary finance, estimated at some 30,000 *Birr*, was derived from the tribute paid by Jimmā itself to the central government.⁵⁷

The construction of the first Church, *Dabra Mawi Madhana Alam*, was thus started in 1929 and completed in 1930. A Greek contractor named Nicholas Barnacas undertook the building of the Church.⁵⁸ The *tābot* was brought from Addis Ababa by *Nagādrās* Yaglu and one Abbā Bor Abbā Garo. Abbā Bor, one of the local *bālābāts*, was formerly an adherent of Islam. He was converted to Christianity, with the baptismal name of Berhana Sillassie.⁵⁹ Sixteen priests came to Jimmā with the *tābot*. The most widely remembered among them were *Mamre* Makuriā, *Mamre* Tasfāye, *Mamre* W/Giorgis, *Agāfāri* Wondmāgeñ and *Alaqā* Falaqa.⁶⁰

During the Inaugural ceremony, the following series of couplets expressing the satisfaction with the construction of the Church was composed; apparently by *Nagādrās* Yagilu himself:

$\frac{3}{4}\ddot{I}N \check{z}Z`z\acute{A}\square \grave{A}\` \grave{A}\` \tilde{A}pGC$
 $p^{\frac{3}{4}}gGnE'' SZ \frac{3}{4}\square pZfrZC$
 $\{s\} E\#x\alpha G \square ' ' p^{\frac{3}{4}}iU\check{C}C$
 $S\grave{O}i''\square \text{†} \text{†} \text{†} C \acute{A}M''\square \ddot{O}\emptyset xC$
 $\text{`}\acute{E}N' EO\square E\} E\acute{A}\tilde{N}'' \{Rp\#C$
 $\text{^}\text{^}\text{^}rAEA'' \check{s}\square ' ' \square \acute{E}OC\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$
 $\square \acute{e}\square \} \frac{3}{4}E\ll O \check{s}\square \check{C}F\acute{A}Z\acute{O} \grave{o}ZN$
 $\check{s}J'' \acute{e}\grave{o}i'' xr\hat{A} G\{N^{\acute{o}l}$

Besides expressing the pleasure of the writer with the expansion of Christianity and his indebtedness to *Rās* Tafari, this piece of literature also hinted at the opposition of the Muslim establishment as well as the local community to the efforts to establish Christianity in Jimma. With the construction of the Church at Mandarā, a considerable number of followers of Orthodox Christianity, notably priests but also other civil workers, took up residence around it. This situation gradually gave

rise to the development of *Madhana Alam Safar*, the neighbourhood getting its name from the Church.⁶²

In December 21, 1950, the Church of Saint Mary, the second Orthodox Church in the town, Ināugurated. It is said that this Church and the Church of Saint George were constructed by the personal initiative of the new Governor General, *Rās Mesfin Silashi*.⁶³

Two other churches, Saint Gabriel and *Kidāna Meherat*, were also built before 1974. The former one was established by the contribution of the Christian faithful in the town, while the later was erected by the order of *Dajāzmāch* Tsahayu Inqu Sellassie, the Governor General of Kaffā from 1967-1974.⁶⁴ The *Kidane Mehrat* Church was actually built in the compound of his residence.

According to the CSO report of 1966, the great majority of the town's population were reported to have been followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. These included mainly the Amharic, Yam and Kafficho speaking communities but also the Tigrigna speakers from Tigray and Eritrea and the Soddo Gurāge. In 1965 some 18120 people out of a population of 29420 (that is over 60%) were Orthodox Christian.⁶⁵

3.3.2 Islam

Islam is of course the established religion of Jimmā, predomInānt before the 1930s. By 1965 Moslems accounted for 38% of the population.⁶⁶ M. Abir states that the spread of Islam in the region took place slowly and through peaceful means. The main carriers of Islam to the region were Moslem merchants.⁶⁷ Trimmingham claims that Islam established it self in the Gibe Oromo states between sometime between

the 1840s and 1870s.⁶⁸ According to H.S. Lewis, most of the people of Jimmā were Moslem by 1882.⁶⁹

Tradition attributes the introduction of Islam to a merchant from Gondar named *Sheik Abdul Kākim*. *Shiek Abdul Kākim*, according to this tradition, came to Jimmā during the reign of Abbā Jifār I. He resided near the King's *Masarā* (palace). Having secured permission from the dignitaries, he started teaching Quran to the children of the elite. He was so successful in his work that he ended up converting a considerable number of local people, including the ruling class to Islam.⁷⁰

The earliest mosque established in the town was the *Masgidā Afurtāmā*. *Masgidā Afurtāmā*, in literal Oromiffā, meant Mosque of the Forty. It was apparently built for forty Moslem scholars (*Ulāmā*) who came from Gondar to teach Islam. It was from their number (forty) that the name "*Masgidā Afurtāmā*" was derived.⁷¹ The Mosque is located approximately about five hundred meters down the street from the palace compound at Jiren. It is said that it was initially built out of wood and thatch during the reign of Abbā Boqa [r.1857-61].⁷²

The expansion of Islamic education was particularly emphasized during the reign of Abbā Jifār II. An aspect of this emphasis is the building of a new mosque dressed with hewn stone of the best quality.⁷³

There were other mosques within the palace compound which were constructed by the order of Abbā Jifār II. The one located on the eastern side and attached to the palace was built for the king and his family. The other one was built for the public, and was located at the north-eastern corner of the palace.⁷⁴

The other oldest mosque in the town is "*Masgidā Shekotā Warjii*, located at Mandarā. It got its name from *Sheikhs* of Warjii, who came to Jimmā towards the end of the reign of Abbā Jifār for the purpose of preaching Islam.⁷⁵

According to informants, many Moslem refugees from Gondar and Wollo, running away from the persecutions of Emperor Yohannes IV, had moved southwards to Jimmā. They resided in Jimmā and became teachers and preachers of Islam in the region. They immensely contributed to the strengthening of the position of Islam in the whole of Jimmā region.⁷⁶

A number of *Ulāmās* are still remembered among the Moslem community for their contributions to the spread of Islamic culture and education in Jimmā. These include *Shiek* Mohammed Dalen of Ifāt, *Hāji* Muhammed Qurre, *Sheik Hāji* Yāhiyā of Tigre, *Sheik Sirāj* Qotir of Abalti, *Shiekh Hāji* Nuriye and Abbā Bosherā of Mincho.⁷⁷ The construction of *Madrasās* (schools of Islamic learning) in the town also made Jimmā the most important center of Islamic learning in southwestern Ethiopia.⁷⁸

During the Italian period, a new mosque was built at the center of the town.⁷⁹ The Italians are also said to have built an "institute" for Islamic studies, indicative of their policy of favoring Islam over Orthodox Christianity to achieve political and military ends. The Italians appointed *Sheik* Ahmad Diggo as a general *Qādi* of the mosque in Jimmā and paid him 500 lire per month. Those *Qādi's* in the districts of Jimmā *awrājā* were also put on fixed salaries.⁸⁰ After the departure of the Italians, a Yemenite by the name of Mohammed Seifu, enlarged the building of the mosque at the center of the town. Other mosques were also built in *Kullo bar* and Qocci.⁸¹

According to the CSO survey of 1965, some 11,160 people, out of a total population of 29,420 were Moslem. Adherents to Islam in the town included most of the Jimmā Oromo, the Silti, the Hādyā, the Gurāge (all from the southern parts of Shawā) and the Arabs.⁸²

3.3.3 *Protestantism*

Jimmā appears to have been among the first few towns in southern Ethiopia to have opened its doors to Protestantism.⁸³ In the late 1920s, a missionary team led by a Dr. Thomas A. Lambie, after receiving permission from the government of Ethiopia to preach the gospel, is said to have started journey to Jimmā. On this journey, a man whom they hired as a guide apparently took them in the wrong direction and, instead of Jimma they arrived at a town called Soddo [in Wolayita].⁸⁴

There, they opened their first station.

After a while, however, Dr. Lambie and his party set out for Jimmā and arrived on March 26/1928. They immediately started to make preparations for the establishment of a Protestant Church.⁸⁵ In the same year, he was joined by a missionary team of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) led by a Dr. Bongham.⁸⁶ The first SIM station in Jimmā was established at Jiren, where the current Jimmā Kale-Hiwot Church is situated. The compound was initially bought by the SIM from an Armenian coffee merchant. The activities of these missionaries at the beginning was constrained by various factors, including resistance from other religious groups and suspicion by the local people.⁸⁷ The Italian aggression brought a temporary halt to

activities of the missionary group. The missionaries were in fact compelled to close down and leave Jimmā.⁸⁸

In 1941, the missionaries returned to Jimmā and reopened their station. This time, besides the preaching of the gospel, they involved in some developmental and training activities.⁸⁹ At the end of the 1950's another team of missionaries known as 'the Swedish Industrial Mission' led by Mr. Hogland arrived in Jimmā.⁹⁰ This team was stationed in the northern side of the Aweyitu River, at the center of the town. Like its predecessor this theme also engaged in the provision of social amenities, such as health care and primary education.⁹¹

In spite of all this effort, the growth of the Church was not remarkable. Very few people dared to join the Protestant church in Jimmā until 1955. There were only a handful of converts, as stated in Mr. Peter Cotterell's book entitled "Born at Midnight."⁹² Nor were things easy for these few converts. They faced severe pressures from their communities including threats to their lives. Consequently, some of them returned to their old faith.⁹³

The effort of the missionaries was not confined to Jimmā Town, however. Despite the challenges they faced, they managed to penetrate the countryside around Jimmā in the 1950s and 1960s. Protestant churches were thus established in some villages like Wākā, Sājā, Bongā, Agāro and other districts of the former Kaffā province.⁹⁴

According to informants rural missionary efforts went along with the spread of modern education, health care programs and other development activities. In fact, they were more significant socially through the training and interms of health related services than evangelization.

The number of the Protestant groups and believers was significantly increasing both in urban and rural areas of Jimmā when the Revolution of 1974 struck. Religion in general and Protestantism in particular suffered a set back in the 70s and 80s. The military government confiscated lands, schools, hospitals, clinics, residential houses, offices and other properties of the Protestant Churches. The Churches were officially closed while some of the leaders and believer of the Protestant groups were thrown in jail.⁹⁵

Table 6. Religious Affiliation (1970)

Religion	Māle	%	FeMāle	%	Total	%
Orthodox Christianity	8,520	60.6	9,600	62.5	18,120	61.5
Muslim	5,440	38.7	5,720	37.2	11,160	38
Protestant	40	0.3	20	0.1	60	0.2
Other & Not Stated	50	0.4	30	0.2	80	0.3
Total	14,050	100%	15,370	100%	29,240	100%

Source:- *Report on A Survey of Jimmā*, p.5.

3.4 Urban Social Institutions

Idir, *Iqub* and *Māhber* have been the most important urban social institutions in Ethiopia. Jimmā is no exception in this regard. Faqadu Gadāmu argues that *Idirs* are the natural outgrowth of a common historical background and of the process of assimilation and acculturation among the diverse groups of people in Ethiopia.⁹⁶ *Idir* is a form of self-help association established for the purpose essentially of mutual support at times of bereavement, but also for coordināting efforts to address a variety

of community concerns. J. Salole has also argued that these associations evolved out of traditional rural forms of rotating credit, mutual help, burial, and other cooperative activities. These rural forms are still in existence today.⁹⁷

The first *Idir* in the town of Jimma was established in 1942/43. Informants say that there were no *Idirs* in the town before the Italian occupation and that they came into existence only after the occupation period. This was probably the result of the influx of many people into the town from different parts of the country. During the war of 1936-1941, the peasants were the ones who suffered most from the situation since their villages were plundered and burned. Therefore, in order to escape troubles many of them flocked to Jimmā with the hope of getting some peace and security. The work opportunities created by the Italians also attracted the migrants to the town.⁹⁸ With increase in urbanization, the traditional closely knit local community was displaced by an increasingly impersonal system of relationships. There arose a need for mutual aid among migrants to deal with major problems like sickness, death and the like. As Kenneth Little rightly states:

*Migrants who have left behind their rural villages and families are confronted by a mere impersonal system of relationships than exists at home. . . There is no scheme of social insurance to cover sickness or disabilities and no pension scheme for widows, orphans and old people, nor is there any national assistance to provide for the destitute or the unemployed.*⁹⁹

The first and oldest *Idir* in Jimmā was the *Madhana Alam Idir*. This *Idir* got its name from the Church of *Madhana Alam*. It was founded in 1942/43 and drew its members mainly from residents around the Church. Membership was open to all Christians, irrespective of the ethnic group to which they belonged. It was founded on the initiative of a *Bālāmrās Asmāra Takā*.¹⁰⁰

The second oldest *Idir* was *Ya Soddo Marādāja Idir*. It was established in 1945/46 by residents who originally were from Soddo. Its first president was Ato Jiru Badāssu and the secretary (*Tsāhafī*) was Ato Garrāsu Guyyo; both were influential elders of the community. During the early years of its formation, the Soddo *Idir* started as an ethnic association involving the Soddo people only. Gradually, however, the association outgrew its ethnic bias and non-Soddo residents also joined. In 1968 the name of the association was changed from "*ya Soddo Marradājā Idir*" to "*Biherāwi Andnat Idir*" [national unity *Idir*].¹⁰¹

In 1957/58, the Moslem population of the town also established their own *Idir*, known as the *Jamaal Kahyriā Idir*. Membership was based on religious affiliation, regardless of ethnic origin.¹⁰²

There were a total of more than 43 *Idirs* in Jimmā in 1973/74. All these *Idirs* can be categorized into three categories.¹⁰³

Most *Idirs* had their members drawn from neighborhoods, regardless of religious affiliation or ethnic background. These consisted of *idirs* like *Māhal-katamā*, *Andināt*, *Kitober*, *Mandarā Limmu*, *Sār-safar Wandmāmāchoch Idirs* and the like. The other group of *Idirs* were established by occupational groups. Employees of particular agencies or organizations formed their own *Idir* to support each other during bereavement, sickness as well as loss of job. *Idirs* that came under this category included *Ya Turataññoch Idir* (for retired persons), *Rās Dastā Dāmtaw Hospital workers Idir*, *Kaffā - Ilubābor wood processing workers Idir* and the like.

The third category of *Idirs* includes those *Idirs* which initially were formed on ethnic lines, like the Soddo *Idir* and *Sabāt bet Gurāge Idir*, but which later opened their doors for others.

In 1970/71, under the auspices of the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs, the Office of Jimmā Community Development Project was set up. This office, in collaboration with the municipality, the *Safar Shums* and *Idirs*, was able to organize a "General committee of *Idirs*." The new committee functioned under the supervision of the town's administration. Its main task was coordinating the activities of member *Idirs*, solving problems which arose within and among different *idirs* and facilitating their role in social activities.¹⁰⁴ Each and every *Idir* in the town was then registered by the General Committee which worked on the basis of the statute approved by the general meeting of member *Idirs*. The committee provided certificate of registration to each *Idir*, thereby conferring legal personality on the *Idir*.¹⁰⁵

In due course, the function of the committee and member *Idirs* expanded to include many aspects of community welfare. For instance in 1973/74, they set themselves the task of checking the expansion of night clubs and gambling houses in and around their respective areas. Informants say that these were legitimate efforts because at the time Jimmā was becoming one of the urban centers in Ethiopia where juvenile delinquency was rising. Theft and organized robbery posed serious threats to the community. One of the concrete outcomes was the participation of neighbourhood people in community policing under the auspices of *Idirs*.¹⁰⁶

Another area where *Idirs* involved in searching solutions for concrete community problems was in the drying of the swampy places suitable for mosquito breeding. Malaria is endemic in Jimma, reaching a peak in the months of October and November. Sometimes, as in 1973/74, the outbreak assumed epidemic proportions. In that year, the Malaria Eradication Office of the Jimmā zone found *Idirs*

to be a highly valuable means of coordinating public involvement in anti-malaria campaigns.¹⁰⁷

Idirs have contributed money, labour and materials towards the construction of development projects also. In 1972 all the *Idirs* in the town contributed about 8000 *birr* for the maintenance of the Miāziā 27 Secondary school.¹⁰⁸

In the genral literature, *Iqub* is defined as a form of traditional capital-raising or saving institution in which weekly or monthly payments of fixed amount of money are put together to raise capital for personal use. Volunteers agree to pay periodically a set amount of money to the pool so that each, in rotation, draws on the pool.¹⁰⁹ Membership in *Iqubs* is extremely variable in number, from as few five people to over a hundred. *Iqubs* are formed among members different age, gender groups as well as of income. Monthly or weekly payments varied according to the economic status of members.¹¹⁰

According to informants the oldest *Iqub* in Jimmā was initiated around 1950 by a person named Bauto Keretā, alias Abbā Bādāg, a famous black smith from the Gurāge speaking community of the town.¹¹¹ Subsequently *Iqubs* sprung up in the town among the poor as well as the rich, among the *tallā* sellers as well as among the big traders. Informants say that *Iqub* was popular mainly among those sections of the society whose income was low. This was not just because these people could “borrow” money from *Iqubs* without interest but also because they had virtually no access to bank loans. In almost cases, *Iqubs* were run by a *Sabsābi* (initiator who will also be the “judge” and a *Tsahafi* (secretary).

In the foregoing pages it has been intimated that the history of the peopling of Jimma is the history of migration to the town. Many migrations to the town have

been caused or motivated by the development of cash cropping, diversification of the economy and by unrealistic expectation of opportunities of employment. A further “pull” factors were the desire for modern education, for health and other social services.

As a result the town serve as a hub of an ethnically mixed population with all concomitant diversity of culture and wide range of languages spoken. The urban population characterized by its relatively greater heterogeneity in terms of linguistic group, occupation, social status and religion.

Since the town environment separated the strangers from the protective rural milieu of their traditional communities, it became necessary to establish need-based social institutions like *Iddir* to help them in times of difficult situation or unexpected problems. A large number of groups, therefore were organized specifically for the pursuit of spiritual benefit. Some other association (like *Iqqub*) also formed to cater for their member material needs in the shape of money. These urban socio-cultural institutions in general usually, have social activities extended to the wider public in addition to their economic interests. They are important in the situation because they provide a link between the traditional and urban way of life.

chapter FOUR

4. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION, REVENUE AND URBAN SERVICES - 1941-1974

4.1 Town Administration

As the combined patriotic forces led by *Fitāwrari* Garāssu Duki and Jagāmā Kello approached Jimmā, bitter fighting took place between Ethiopian and Italian forces at Tolga Nono, Limmu Saqqā and Limmu Kossa. In these three battlefields, the Italians were heavily defeated. On another front, at the battle of Gilgel Gibe, a large number of Italian soldiers and native troops along with Abbā Jobir, the Sultan of Jimmā, were defeated by British forces consisting of Sudanese and Kenyan troops.¹ The Italian forces surrendered to the commander of the forces, Colonel Fox.²

In an effort to avoid fighting for the town and to achieve a peaceful surrender of the Italians the patriotic forces sent a delegation to Jimmā consisting of *Bajirond* Haile Germāme and *Ato* Mangestu Togāla, along with some Italian captives to demonstrate good will. Following their discussion with Italian officials the delegates left for Gilgel Gibe to discuss the issue with Colonel Fox. Colonel Fox accepted the plan, but underlined the necessity of making arrangements with the leaders of the patriotic forces so as to decide how and when the two forces would enter the town.³ It was on that occasion that Colonel Fox handed over Abbā Jobir to the delegation so that he would be taken to *Fitāwrari* Garāssu. Abbā Jobir explained to *Fitāwrari* Garāssu and other Ethiopian officials why he supported the Italians:

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Despite the collaboration of Abbā Jobir with the Italians, GaRāssu sought the latter's co-operation to achieve peaceful evacuation of the Italians from Jimmā. As a result, *Fitāwrari* Garāssu and *Abbā* Jobir stayed together in the palace at Jiren. According to W.A.P. Alan, Garāsu's conciliatory attitude and his own reputation as a patriot leader hastened Italian surrender in Jimmā. The patriotic forces entered Jimmā on June 20, 1941 and were subsequently followed by the British forces.⁵ This marked the end of Italian rule in Jimmā.

The British forces did not stay long in Jimmā. They did not, therefore, have any significant contribution to the urban development of the town. On the contrary, they are accused of trying to dismantle and remove scores of valuable materials which were left behind by the Italians such as generators, electric wires, water pumps, vehicles and a large stock of medical supplies stored in the Hospital.⁶ This created a strong resentment among the population and patriotic leaders. *Ato* Kidāne Arayā, an Eritrean - born water technician who was in the service of the Italians states that the British plan was foiled by Colonel Kifle Ergetu, one of the high-ranking military officials who campaigned against the Italians.⁷

After liberation, the Ethiopian government took a number of steps that defined and speeded up Jimmā's urban growth. In 1941 a provisional urban administration was set up. It divided the town into four *safars* (neighborhoods): Jiren, Hirmātā, Bossa and Mandarā. For each neighborhood a *safar shum* (neighborhood chief) was

appointed. A small 'finance office' was also setup to collect taxes and to look after "enemy property". In 1942/43, Jimmā became an *awrājā* (district) capital.⁸

The Municipality of Jimmā was re-established on March 29/1944 as per the Municipalities proclamation No. 74 of 1945. According to this proclamation, towns were divided into two categories, as towns in schedule A and towns in Schedule B. Schedule "A" consisted of major towns that would be run by mayors who would preside over municipalities. These included Addis Ababā, Gondar, Harar, Jimmā, Dessie and Diredawa. Other towns were declared to be townships and classified under schedule "B". They were subdivided into three different classes: first, second and third class.⁹

Jimmā, the capital of Kaffā Governorate General, was given the status of a municipality town to be administered by a mayor (*Kantibā*). The activities of the municipality were to be directed by the Municipal council, the highest organ of administration for the town. The council would be made up of seven representatives elected by the urban population and representatives of branch offices of the various ministries, nominated by the Governor-General. The terms of office of the council was one year with possibility of reelection for an indefinite number of times.¹⁰

The council was responsible for the fixing and levying of taxes, for authorization the annual budget and expenditure of the municipality. It also fixed the salaries of the municipal employees except that of the "municipal officer". The latter was on the payroll of the Ministry of Interior.¹¹ There were six departments within the municipality. They were the Land Department, the Department for Correspondence and Registration, the Water Supply Department, and the Departments for engineering accounting and Archives.

When the municipality was instituted, it was stipulated that it would be answerable directly to the Governor - General, with no control over it from the local government. The *awrājā* government was not allowed to interfere in any activity of the municipality. Thus, most of the time, the municipality communicated with and reported to the Governor-General and the Ministry of Interior. Accountability was mainly to the Governor-General while technical matters were communicated to the Ministry of Interior.¹²

The Municipal officer was appointed by the Ministry of Interior from among three people nominated by residents of the town. He was directly responsible to the office of the Governor-General of Kaffā. He had the power to implement the decision of the council. In accordance with the directive given by the Ministry of Interior, he was responsible for collecting fees for licensing new trading or business establishments and purchasing materials within the limits of the budget allocated by the council. He had the right to issue internal regulations for administrative purposes.

The following were the Municipal Officers in Jimmā between 1945 and 1974: *Grāzmāch* kifle Ergatu; *Nagādrās* Jamānah Yamenu; *Ato* Gugesā Makonnen; *Ato* Kabadā Yimar; *Qaññāzmāch* KabAdā Rufāel, *Qaññāzmāch* Tafari Gabra Madhin; *Ato* Malāku Tashawārq; *Ato* Tilāhun Charnet; *Fitāwrāri* Kifle Enqusillassie; *Qaññāzmāch* WoldaMāriām Namarā; *Shālāqā* HailMāriām Lencho; *Qaññāzmāch* Yosef Sardā.¹³

As stated above the Municipality of Jimmā was also assisted by four *Safar – Shums*. The latter worked under the direction of the town council. The *Safar Shums* served as bridges between the municipality and the population of their respective *safars*. They were appointed by the council with the approval of the municipal *shum*.

Their responsibilities included collection of taxes, checking to prevent the construction of houses and fences without the permission of the municipality; and passing on any social grievances in their *safars* to the administration. *Safar Shums* and their secretaries were paid 30 and 25 *Birr* respectively per month.¹⁴ The most important *Safar Shums* in Jimmā in the period between 1945 - 1961 were the following:

Name of the <i>Safar</i>	Name of the <i>Safar-Shum</i>
a. Mandarā	- <i>Balambarās</i> Abbā Garo Daru - <i>Ato</i> Zanaba Waltakle
b. Hirmātā	- <i>Ato</i> Jifār Fayissā - Abbā Garo Abbā Dalachā
c. Jiren	- <i>Qaññāzmāch</i> Abbā Garo Abbā Dulā
d. Bossā	- Abbā Simal Abbā Qite - Abbā Miliki Abbā Riko - <i>Alaqā</i> Kina Tibabu

4.2. Municipal Revenue

According to the municipal proclamation No.74, of 1945, municipalities were empowered to collect taxes from property and profit - yielding activities. The income generated from these taxes was to be used for the provision of social services in the town and improving the quality of life in the town.¹⁶

The municipality of Jimmā imposed a variety of taxes with the approval of the Governor General and the Ministry of Interior. These were land taxes, water charges, business licensing fees, market stall taxes, taxes on abattoirs, fire brigade

charges, building fees, etc. The major source of income was, however, commercial activities, followed by land tax and market dues.¹⁷

Jimmā's market was attended by a large number of merchants and farmers coming from different areas, near and far. They came from Bongā, Saqqā, Dedo, Sarbo, Bilidā, Yabou, Hāro, Agāro and they came in large numbers. A variety of products and goods including cereals, fruits, vegetables, spices, coffee and consumer items and manufactured goods changed hands on the market. The municipality collected taxes and other market dues from these merchants and farmers.¹⁸

Livestock dues constituted the other source of revenue. A tax of 25 cents was levied on each head of cattle, horse or mule, and of 10 cents for each sheep or goat if merchants kept their stock during the day or night in the fence constructed for this purpose. A tax of 1 to 2 Birr was levied on each cattle, horse and mule and 25 to 75 cents on each sheep or Goat. For livestock certificates (ፍታዊ ሰነድ) issued by the municipality as a written evidence of purchase 15 to 50 cents per animal was charged.¹⁹

Merchants and their business in the town were classified into fourteen categories. Persons and installations liable to pay licenses fees and renewal fees were graded into these categories and paid license and renewal fees. Fees were determined as per the following schedule: Eth. *Birr* 800, 700, 550, 500, 400, 300, 250, 200, 150, 100, 75, 50, 25, 15. These taxes were paid annually upon approval by the Governor-General and finally by the Ministry of Interior. Expatriate merchants paid Eth. Birr 100 for trade licenses and were charged Eth. *Birr* 5 to 50 for the renewal of their licenses.²⁰

There were five classes of market stall rents, costing the owners annual rents ranging from 50 cents to 4 *Birr*.

The other important source for income of the municipality was weighing and measuring fees levied on trucks entering or transiting through Jimmā. Each loaded truck starting its journey from Jimmā or passing through the town had to pay 10 to 50 cents per kilo gram. It is believed that 4 to 5 trucks left for Addis Ababā daily during the coffee harvesting season, creating an opportunity for the municipality to secure considerable income.²¹

Table 7. Annual Revenue Collected by the Town Administration

No.	Source of Income	YEAR (E.C)		
		1945	1946	1947
1	Trade Licensing Tax	40,619.50	42,947.53	55,000
2	Livestock marketing Tax	4,762.75	6,849.86	9,000
3	Market Stall Rent	23,212.65	24,614.05	26,000
4	Miscellaneous Sanitary Services	4,184	11,837.29	15,000
5	Land Tax	38,060.34	21,266.64	32,733.36
6	Contracts	6,527.15	4,219.69	7,780.31
7	Miscellaneous Charges	12,837.44	9,154.78	16,845.22
8	Vehicle Charges	12,704.38	14,779.91	15,000
9	Water Supply Fees	8,750.80	8,236.52	24,163.48
10	Electricity Services	817.22	1,180.91	1,000
11	Fire Presentation	2,000	2,000	
12	Car Repair Services			
13	Abattoir	2,800.45	2,511.75	3,000
14	Sales of Goods			1,000
15	Hire & sale of immovable Property	18,724		25,000
16	Various Unscheduled Incomes	49,466.54	22,097.74	38,000
17	Registration of Foreigners	3,770	76,183.34	4,643.30
18	Fines on Salaries	8,195.10	2,351.50	
19	license for Dog Owners	153.65	96	804
20	license Fees on Arms		187	600
21	Sales of Vehicles		2,000	
22	Others		7,548.58	
		237,585.97	260,063.09	268,574.67

Source:- JTAO, File No. 7

Table 8: Monthly Income and Expense of JTAO - 1948-1954 E.C.

Month / Year	1948 E.C	1949 E.C	1950 E.C	1951 E.C	1952 E.C	1953 E.C	1954 E.C
Meskerem							
I	12,329.31	11,951.44	15,510.69	8,319.53	11,282.33	12,329.44	13,925.03
E	5,204.72	5,332.00	6,738.05	6,793.46	26,220.80	11,697.11	24,661.37
Tikmet							
I	8,564.20	11,598.91	15,809.52	11,824.32	21,948.85	16,219.71	20,220.34
E	5,703.00	5,940.50	6,798.35	8,501.50	20,623.63	17,918.03	21,767.04
Hidar							
I	11,498.44	10,708.67	13,438.91	20,465.05	21,167.27	19,043.61	17,427.07
E	9,616.97	7,518.45	7,802.48	24,024.20	27,954.25	13,796.55	17,208.33
Tahsas							
I	15,198.51	23,115.94	16,737.09	35,516.50	21,735.27	18,100.80	20,308.75
E	7,077.79	9,728.99	8,988.68	14,748.20	21,967.17	20,500.70	18,840.60
Tir							
I	19,607.68	41,521.14	49,892.87	37,200.06	23,461.59	36,345.21	25,085.31
E	9,958.08	16,368.92	8,243.05	15,127.60	20,765.98	38,301.62	20,600.20
Yekatit							
I	19,617.94	43,698.33	40,350.99	32,095.56	26,601.07	30,096.44	23,046.61
E	11,779.33	9,030.14	34,392.24	22,265.40	30,927.55	23,128.82	28,506.92
Megabit							
I	21,789.05	54,550.49	25,651.48	29,475.60	27,417.92	31,197.41	63,449.21
E	7,816.54	18,749.70	11,731.94	26,599.58	27,294.63	19,538.86	35,168.32
Miäziä							
I	16,338.16	24,729.26	19,048.41	19,886.71	20,279.50	26,257.99	38,331.76
E	8,589.70	9,406.61	49,396.33	27,966.48	12,231.30	27,656.19	34,124.04
Genbot							
I	25,262.83	23,640.06	18,710.06	19,373.40	19,195.50	22,411.91	25,009.31
E	11,379.09	10,371.89	36,314.40	16,616.60	23,410.47	14,730.30	24,889.35
Sene							
I	37,416.72	19,683.66	18,119.61	18,372.17	15,254.31	19,675.71	22,628.59
E	15,387.69	23,038.72	32,357.94	22,960.84	20,404.22	17,708.07	40,289.85
Hamle							
I	17,237.38	16,469.08	12,848.11	15,122.71	17,154.62	19,226.42	20,381.75
E	16,187.34	9,574.82	13,403.68	66,461.75	18,110.17	32,955.65	24,577.66
Nehasse							
I	21,070.76	13,274.95	21,088.88	16,184.44	14,864.05	15,486.77	19,818.48
E	27,499.19	28,573.71	35,175.84	57,628.35	14,432.71	16,308.72	14,718.24
Table							
I	225,930.98	294,941.93	267,206.82	264,646.05	240,362.28	266,391.42	309,632.21

E	136,199.24	153,634.43	248,342.98	309,693.96	239,342.88	254,240.62	305,351.92
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NB:- I, Income; E, Expense

Source:- The Archive of Income and Expense, from 1948 E.C - 1954 E.C. JTAO

Table 9: Annual Income of the Town Administration

No.	1957 E.C.	1958 E.C.	1959 E.C.
1	32,473.51	150,617.18	51,998.57
2	1,815.25	3,000	2,608.00
3	11,506.80	34,963.71	16,499.05
4	4,048.25	46,917.50	7,026.10
5	70,001.68	86,577.40	7,798.39
6	9,733.00	19,000	8,641.39
7	7,876.11	18,000	9,783.49
8	10,108.95	38,641.22	14,495.44
9	25,546.55	94,768.00	25,820.70
10	2,373.08	10,626.92	2,536.69
11			
12			
13	2,156.75	4,843.27	2,093.25
14		5,000	92.90
15	699.70	1,500	20.984.48
16	16,639.40	72,841.66	
17	62,697.58	77,302.42	1,744.20
18	1,688.00	3,500	4,369.94
19	200.00	200	4.50
20	1,288.00	500	26.00

21			1,530.20
22	8,901.60		*42,335.40
	267,754.39	663,799.28	220,388.69

Source:- JTAO, File No. 7.

For the source of income see the corresponding numbers in page 97.

* Weighing and measurement fees.

It is clear from these figures that the main sources of income for the municipality were charges imposed on small and medium businesses, taxes on urban land; charges for services like water and fees for licenses. The income of the municipality had been rising tremendously from year to year.

Table 10: Annual Income of the Town Administration
(1960 E.C. - 1966 E.C.)

No.	Year	Total Yearly Income
1	1960 E.C.	747,206.17
2	1961 E.C.	521,498.45
3	1962 E.C.	731,146.02
4	1963 E.C.	654,642.15
5	1964 E.C.	658,595.84
6	1965 E.C.	682,193.96
7	1966 E.C.	686,964.40

Source:- JTAO, File No. 7.

The Sources of Income for these years are not indicated in the document.

Different sources indicate that the distribution of urban land in Jimmā dates back to the period of Abbā Jifār II (1878-1932). The distribution during Abbā Jifār's time was based on the traditional unit of measurement known as *Fachāsā* (roughly ¼ ha). Because of the imprecision of the unit, the exact size of land owned by individuals has remained unknown, even though, in many cases it must have been greater than what was registered. Consequently, it appears that the municipality of

Jimmā had not been getting the amount of income that it could have obtained from land tax.

In 1937 E.C., upon the initiative of *Rās Birru W/Gabriel*, the first governor-general of Kaffā, a physical survey was conducted with the objective of determining the town's boundaries. It was in part meant to roll back the achievements made by some *bāllābāts* of the rural districts around Jimmā in expanding their domains at the expense of the town. This kind of expansion in all directions took place immediately following the departure of the Italians.²² In 1944 E.C., under the direction of *Ato Gazāhañ Kalkile*, the secretary of the Governor-General of Kaffā, the town's boundaries were set by groups composed of engineers, *safar shums* and elders. The point of reference was the master plan prepared by the Itlaians. Demarcation was made with permanent structures. The result was that officially the size of the town became something like 160 *gāshās*. This was approved by the Ministry of Interior.²³

The land in Jimmā was divided into three classes: first class, second class and third class. First class lands were those located adjacent to the main road and in the center of town. These were further subdivided into three categories and the land tax per square meter ranged from 0.08 - 0.10 cents. Second class lands were those adjacent to the first class lands, like those behind the palace, the *Rās Dastā Hospital*, the St. Mary church and *Miāziā 27 School*. Like the first class lands, these were also sub-divided into three categories and taxed from 0.05 to 0.07 cents for every 3 square meters. The land behind the areas in the first and second class were designated as third class. Most of these lands infact had a rural character. The owners of these lands paid 0.01 cents per 12 square meters.²⁴

Revenues from land were collected in the form of site allocation fees, land registration fees, payments for a variety of engineering services involving the measurement, demarcation and estimation of value of land.²⁵

Table 11: Expected Revenue From Land Tax (1945 E.C)

First Category Land							
Name of the <i>Safar</i>	Number of Identified Rest owners	1 st Category land					
		1 st class Total Area (m ²)	Total Revenue	2 nd Class Total Area (m ²)	Total Revenue	3 rd class Total Area (Per m ²)	Total Revenue
Hirmātā	512	518.013	5,180.50	287,793	1,296.00	109,540	275.00
Mandera	673			198,538	895.00	726,730	1,817.50
Bossa	210	69,023	690.50	239,502	1,080/00	7,500	18.50
Jiren	237			140,458	632.50	3,581	10.00
Total	1632		5,871.00	866,291	3,903.5	847,355	2,121.00

2nd Category Land

Name of the <i>Safar</i>	1 st Class	Total Revenue	2 nd Class	Total Revenue	3 rd Class	Total Revenue
Hirmātā	191,584	384				
Mandera	901,996	1,804	443,686	555	220,363	165.50
Bossa	87,233	175	106,892	133		
Jiren	530,099	1,061	441,002	552	2,580,925	1,935.75
Total	1,710,912	3,424	991,580	1,240	2,801,288	2,101.25

3rd Category Land

Name of the <i>Safar</i>	1 st Class	Total Revenue	2 nd Class	Total Revenue	3 rd Class	Total Revenue
Hirmātā	1,387,879	41,640	24,839	5	5,000	0.50
Mandera	847,597	2,544.0	3,106,512	621.40	2,587,284	258.75

Bossa	1,602,759	480.90	743,835	148.80	1,657,104	165.75
Jiren	2,334,072	700.35	2,759,010	551.90	1,199,456	119.95
Total	6,172,307	1,850.05	6,634,190	1,327.10	5,448,844	544.95

Source:- JTAO, File No. 407.

Table 12: Land Size in Sq.m. Registered with the Land Department of the Municipality (1945 E.C.)

Safer's Name	Land Size in Sq.m.	Revenue Expected to be Drawn from land Tax in Eth. Birr
Hirmātā	2,524,652	7,557.40
Mandera	9,032,706	6,372.05
Bossa	4,513,848	2,893.45
Jiren	9,988,603	5,563.70
Total	26,059,809	22,386.60

Source:- The Minutes of the Municipality Council, Hedar 22, 1945 E.C. JTAO, Archival Department.

The table above indicates that, inspite of the delineation of the new municipal boundary, land under the control of the municipality was actually much less than half the total amount of land that was supposed to be within the boundaries of the town as per the delimitation of 1944 E.C.

Available records indicate that the revenue obtained from taxes and services were simply too little to enable the municipality to undertake the expansion of infrastructure and services. What made the situation even worse was the fact that interventions from the central government either took away some of the funds that were crucially needed in the town or tied down these funds in bureaucratic formalities and processes. For instance between 1960 and 1965, the municipality was forbidden to collect fuel and oil taxes from owners of fuel stations in the town. The

prerogative of collecting these taxes was given to the Ministry of Interior. The Ministry was supposed to make reallocations of the funds at the provincial level out of which the town would obtain a share. However, indications are that the Ministry of Interior did not do this. As a result, the municipality lost a very important part of its income. An idea of this loss could be gathered from the complaints forwarded to the Ministry by *Qaññāzmāch* Kifle Inqusellasi:

α~Ç#` ~pq !Å Í#N ¾N%Ñp"} ¾Çİ kq} fUØ ¾İN N±ÖÍ p&} p±#A"
 æxN !""Ø ¾p&±# NÁÁ æ~nnM"} Åp»† p¾Ñ%±&!" š¾xl×ÖU
 ÅfpG □pZ!½ p%>F Ó□ ĀC fZ~ ~Ç#` ~pq ÁÑZ Ó²} N%□%VZ
 ~¾xl×ÖU EÖkFĀ Ó²y ÉZc!" □ šÇ#ÁæóöG pNE} MMWÁ xFGóG!½½
 D□O EORE& æM`æUO š`æ J□' 30/1953 ®.O. ÉU` 195,821.18
 R□zOø æM]æUO 1954 - J□' 30/1954 ®.O. 64,996.86 R□zO EN±ÖÍ
 E#Ñq ¾N%†E!" ~GNqO!½½²⁶

There were thus times when substantial funds were deposited in the bank in the name of the Ministry of Interior while the town postponed important projects for lack of money. Every year from 1957 to 1959 E.C., close to 250,000 *Birr* was deposited in the bank while the town was complaining of lack of funds to improve public facilities. Besides, the budget approval process was inefficient and clumsy, tying down the municipality and making it even less effective. Approved budgetary allocations often reached the town about half way in the budget year, making it impossible to expend funds on time and when needed.²⁷

4.3. Education

Prior to 1930, neither modern nor Church education existed in Jimmā. The main reason for this seems to have been the devotion of the local rulers to Islam. For, already by 1880's Jimmā had some sixty *Madrāsās* (schools of advanced

education in Islam), giving the town the reputation of being the most important center of Islamic learning in southwestern Ethiopia.²⁸ Abbā Jifār's peaceful submission to Menelik and the good measure of local autonomy that his kingdom enjoyed meant that the influence of the central government and the Orthodox Church in matters of education and religion were limited.²⁹

It was the increase in the number of northern and central Ethiopians in Jimmā from the 1920 onwards that led to the opening of the first modern school in the town. An important role in the construction of schools and churches was plaid by *Nagadrās* Yagilu. He succeeded in getting the necessary financial support from *Rās* Tafari for his project, amounting to some 30,000 *Birr*. The construction of the school was undertaken by a Greek engineer named Nicholas Barnacas. In 1931, the school was inaugurated as the first modern government school. It was named *Madhanalam* School (it is now known as *Mandarā* Elementary School). The first Director of the school was *Nagadrās* Yagilu himself.³⁰

Teaching and learning in the school was disrupted shortly afterwards as a result of the Italian war of conquest. After the Italians occupied Jimmā, they transformed the school into a school for the children of Italian colonial officials. A separate school was established near the Marcāto for the indigenous people. The Italians expanded the school by building four additional classrooms.³¹

Following the Italian evacuation of the town in 1941, the school was re-opened. One of the problems of the school in the immediate post-Italian period was the shortage of teachers and the fact that the former students were scattered. On *Tikmet* 23, 1934 E.C. an association called "*ya watātoch minch ya Hagar fiqir mahbar*" was formed with the objective of encouraging the return of students to the

school, inculcating love of the country in the youth and bridging the gap between those who had supported and opposed the Italians. The leader of this association was *Ato Worqu Gabra Mikāel*.³²

In March 1942, in response to the call by the "Hagar Fikir Mahbar" and the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, 104 students enrolled, enabling the school to start work. In order to encourage Muslims to send their children to school, Arabic was included in the curriculum. Despite all these efforts, the local Muslim population was reluctant to allow their children to attend the school.³³ According to informants, the Muslim community was suspicious that lessons in Amharic and foreign languages might have an effect of shaking the faith of their children. As a result, the opening of an independent school for the Muslims became an urgent task, eventually leading finally to the opening of a *Madrāsā* in 1946.³⁴

All the way upto 1943, there were no female students enrolled at the *Madhana Alam* School. The task of initiating girls to begin schooling was started by *Waizaro Yashimbet Ababa*, wife of *Rās Biru W/Gabreal*, the first Governor-General of Kaffā after liberation. Yashimbet was so anxious to have the education of girls in the town that she personally called upon government officials, merchants etc. to send their daughters to school. In September 1943, for the first time, 30 girls were registered and started lessons in a separate class opened for this purpose. The first female teacher *Tobiaw Hizbulaw*, was also hired.³⁵

In 1945, a Canadian by the name of R. N. Thomson took up the directorship of the *Madhanalam* School in combination with the leadership of the provincial education office. Upto 1946, all educational activities in the Kaffā province were run from the school. The school itself housed the provincial educational office also. In

March 1946, when the Emperor visited Jimmā, Mr. Thomson impressed upon him the need for additional schools. As a result, new schools were built. These were the *Miāziā* 27 School, the Madrāssa Arabic School and the *Atse Yekuno Amlāk* (the present Jiren Elementary school.).³⁶ In due course, the former *Madhanalam* school was converted into an elementary school for girls and was renamed the Haile Sellassie I school for girls. This was done in 1946. The boys in the school were transferred to *Miāziā* 27 elementary school. The first director of the girls school was a Canadian lady called Nalda Palma. According to the official report of the regions educational office, in 1950 the number of female students was raised to 133. The school partially served as a boarding school for a few orphan girls.³⁷

In 1958, the *Miāziā* 27 Elementary school was upgraded to a high school. This was followed by an influx of students from the whole of Kaffā province as well as parts of Ilubābor. As the school couldn't accommodate the large number students, it became necessary to have additional classrooms. Finally, with the permission of the Emperor, the former administration office of the Italians, which had briefly served as the headquarters of the regional administration, was converted into a high school. With additional classrooms built, the school was upgraded to grade 12.

In 1962, the *Miāziā* 27 secondary school was transferred to a new site. In 1964, additional buildings from the former regional administration were transferred to the school to house the elementary section. The section was separated forthwith from the secondary section.³⁸

Table 13: Development of School Enrollment in Jimmā Town

Year	NAME OF SCHOOLS		
	Miāziā 27 th School	Haile Sellassie 1 School	Atse Yekuno Amlak

G.C.	Grade	Enrollment	Teacher	Grade	Enrollment	Teacher	Grade	Enrollment	Teacher
1959-60	1-9	1083	nd	1-8	396	-	1-8	389	-
1960-61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961-62	1-12	1740	40*	1-8	702	17	1-8	615	21
1962-63	1-12	1627	49	1-8	713	21	1-6	613	20
1963-64	1-12	1890	52	1-6	683	21	1-6	601	17
1964-65	1-12	2142	64	1-6	722	20	1-6	551	15
1965-66	1-12	2587	57	1-6	739	22	1-6	568	16
1966-67	1-12	2831	65	1-6	864	21	1-6	600	18
1967-68	1-12	2575	77	1-6	986	20	1-6	515	19
1968-69	1-12	3128	85	1-6	1222	24	1-6	550	18
1969-70	1-6**	1941	44	1-6	1314	27	1-6	521	18
1970-71	1-12	4043	112	1-6	1409	31	1-6	702	19
1971-72	1-12	4312	124	1-6	1478	33	1-6	788	23

Source:- IEG, Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

x = only grade 1-8

xx = 7-12 not available

nd= no data

4.3.1 Institutes and Colleges

One of the most important educational establishments in Jimmā is the Teacher's Training Institute (recently upgraded to a College). The Jimmā TTI began its function in October 1968. It is located in the northeastern part of the town, on the way to Jiren. The Institute recruited students who completed 10th and 12th grades for training as elementary school teachers. Those who were admitted from the 10th grade were trained for two years whereas the 12th graders were trained for a year.³⁹ When the Institute started its work in 1968, it admitted 293 students. The admission of the trainees was carried out on the basis of the regulations of the Ministry of

Education and Fine Arts, regulations that favoured the allocation of quotas for the various regions of the country.

Apart from training teachers in the regular program, the institute also rendered summer courses, workshops, and pre-service training programs, etc. Being one of the few teacher training institutes in the country, it has played a significant role in mitigating the scarcity of teachers.⁴⁰

The following table shows the number of trainees in the Jimmā TTI enrolled in the regular program for the 1961-66 period (E.C.).⁴¹

Table 14: No. of Trainees in Jimmā TTI (1961-66 E.C).

Year	M	F.	T.	Educational Level of the Trainee	Length of Training in years
1961 E.C	293	-	293	12 th	1 year
1962E.C	239	60	299	12 th	1 year
1963E.C	197	27	224	10	2
1964E.C	226	74	300	10	2
1965E.C	203	40	243	10	2
1966E.C	402	115	551	10	2

An important chapter in the history of the teachers and students of Jimmā TTI is the significant role they played in organizing and leading the struggle against the Imperial Regime. They worked to raise revolutionary awareness of the high school students in particular. The early 1970s were characterized by waves of strikes and demonstrations one after another, when students came out into the streets of the town with the slogan of "Land to the Tiller." Towards the end of March 1974, there was a popular uprising by the residents of Jimmā. The immediate cause of the

protest was that teachers and workers of the Teacher Training Institute were ordered to pay 50 Birr each for the "construction of public facilities in the town." The order came from *Dajāzmāch* Tsehāyu Inqusellāssie, the Governor General of Kaffā.⁴² A mass strike that embraced almost the entire population of the town finally led to clashes with the imperial police forces and resulted in the death of a student named Tamām Abbā Sheriff and the wounding of a few others. The death and imprisonment of leaders of the movement intensified the whole situation and contributed to greater militancy by the students and other urban dwellers. This led to the siege of the palace of the Governor-General.⁴³ After a three day siege of the palace, *Dajāzmāch* Tsehāyu managed to escape to Addis Ababā with the support of the special commando forces.

The 'popular insurrection' resulted in a popularly elected urban administration.⁴⁴ With the objective of administering the town and maintaining security, a 34 man committee was formed to replace of the deposed provincial administration. This committee which came to be known as the "Jimmā Soviets" was led by Hussen Ismael, the then principal of Jimmā TTI. It was composed of teachers, students and merchants who declared themselves accountable to the people. It stayed in power for about two weeks.⁴⁵

The other most significant educational establishment in the town is the Jimmā Agricultural Technical School. The Jimmā Agricultural Technical School was established by an agreement signed on June 24, 1952 (amended on June 26, 1953) between the Imperial Ethiopian Government and the Government of the USA. It was one of the products of the cooperation program between the two countries generally

referred to as Point Four Program. The school was in part managed and staffed by personnel from the University of Oklahoma⁴⁶

The primary objective of the Jimmā Agricultural Technical school was twofold: to provide educational and training opportunities in agriculture so that students may enter into farming or related agricultural occupations and to train students so that they may continue their educational pursuits in agricultural institutions of higher learning. The school thus provided agricultural training at a secondary level, graduating some 260 students in the years between 1952-1961.⁴⁷

The school involved students and faculty in intensive experimentation, technical training and practical work experiences. Major areas of training in the field of agriculture included agronomy, animal husbandry, coffee farm management, farm Mechanics, horticulture, soils, and general agriculture. The teaching and research staff of the School was composed of both Americans and Ethiopians. In 1961, there were seven American and nine Ethiopian instructors⁴⁸

The instructional facilities of the school were greatly enhanced by the establishment of the Jiren farm experiment station, placed at the disposal of the school by the Imperial Ethiopian Government. The Jiren station served for experiments with coffee, field crops, pasture and forage crops, and livestock. The school had some impact on the lives of the rural community because it disseminated some of its research findings. In the school and at Jiren station, some 49 varieties of coffee were collected from many parts of the world including Brazil, Java, Guatemala, Kenya, Uganda, Sumatra, Tanzania and Ceylon and subjected to a comparative study.⁴⁹ The Coffee nursery project affiliated to the Jimmā Agricultural Technical school since 1955 distributed improved varieties of coffee seedlings to coffee

growers in the region. In 1955, about 141,000 and in 1961, some 300,000 seedlings were distributed to the rural community from the three nursery projects of Badda Buna, Gojeb and Mito.⁵⁰

The school also conducted research on vegetables in the Horticulture Department. Different varieties of citrus fruits, avocado, broad beans and horse beans, the Irish potato and Chile peppers were introduced from places like Kenya and Mexico to the school. These were also distributed to the community after reproduction of seedlings in large quantities. Much emphasis was put also on poultry production.

The Jimmā Agricultural school was raised to a college level and renamed The Jimmā Agricultural college in 1977/78 and started to provide diploma level training. At the present time it is part of Jimmā University.⁵¹

Jimmā is also home for a Research station of the Institute of Agricultural Research established at the end of 1967, at Malko in the outskirts of the town.⁵² The research station was established to service highland areas of Southern Ethiopia, including the provinces of Ilubābor, Kaffā, Wollegā, Gamu Gofā, Sidāmo, parts of Harar and Bāle. The Jimmā Research Station placed emphasis on the study of the agronomy and processing of coffee. But it also studied various food crops and explored possibilities of introducing other cash crops to minimize the country's dependence on coffee.⁵³

During the occupation period, Malko was an Italian farm and many of its slopes were converted into bench terrace. Irrigation water was brought to the site in an open ditch from a small dam erected across a stream two kilometers away. The agronomic research of the station was conducted on 183 hectares of land. The

original 55 hectares of land at Malko was obtained from the Government in February 1968. In 1970, the land bordering the original farm was bought from individuals. The station was provided with financial support partly from the National Coffee Board of Ethiopia and partly from FAO.⁵⁴

One of the most important achievements of the Institute for Agricultural Research was the collection of as many types of coffee, spices, fruits and vegetables as possible. By 1969, the institute had a gene-bank of 78 local and 123 imported coffee cultivars. Many coffee breeders from all over the world had come to visit the station in search of new gene materials. The research station also provided advisory work particularly to coffee growers. Like the Agricultural-technical school, the Jimma Research Station also distributed some of the products of its research to the local community. Informants argue that the expansion of fruits, like avocado, citrus fruits varieties of papaya, bananas etc. in the area was the achievement of the two agricultural centers.⁵⁵

4.4. Health Services

Modern health services in Jimma were started by the Italians during their occupation. In 1938, the Italians established the Jimma Hospital, then named Italian Military Hospital. It was established to provide medical services to Whites only. It was established well inside the barracks, which served at the same time as an arsenal as well as a training and logistics centers.⁵⁶ At about the same time, the Italians had set up a clinic for the natives in what today called *Maryam Safar*. This medical center, however, was poorly organized both in terms of manpower, equipment and medicine.

The military hospital had 131 beds; 59 for the surgery department; 50 beds for pediatrics and medical departments and the rest 12 beds for gynecology.⁵⁷ With the departure of the Italians, British and other physicians took over and continued to render medical services in the hospital. Among these were an Israeli doctor called Smith and three British Doctors (Dr. Reme, Dr. McIvive and Dr. B. Kossar). Later on, they were joined by an Italian by the name of Dr. Barberi.⁵⁸

In the Post-liberation period, the hospital was renamed after *Rās Dastā Dāmtaw*, the martyred commander of the southern front against the Italians.⁵⁹ For quite some time the *Rās Dastā* hospital would be the only hospital in the whole of Kaffā province catering for some 660,000 people in the region. According to the estimates of experts, there were about two beds for every 10,000 inhabitants. Due to this fact, evidently the service that the hospital rendered was grossly insufficient. Moreover, patients from Ilubābor *Taklāy Gizāt* were also referred to the *Rās Dastā* hospital. The rapid growth of population in the region was also straining the capacity of the hospital considerably.⁶⁰

The second important medical center in the town was the Jimmā Health Center. This health center was established with the assistance of the Netherlands Government in 1963 E.C. It was named after Princess Tsehai in memory of her contributions as medical personnel during the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935-1936. According to informants, the health center was established by the initiative of Dutch doctors who were giving medical services as well as training to Ethiopian medical personnel at Jimmā hospital from 1950 E.C. to 1960 E.C.⁶¹

By 1963 the Health Center was ready to give services in both medical and non-medical areas. It had polyclinic, maternal and children health, vaccination,

family planning and tuberculosis programs. Informants say that the opening of the health center was particularly important for its contributions in reducing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases which at that time seemed to have become epidemic in the town due to the rapid increase of the number of prostitutes.⁶²

Malaria is an endemic disease in Jimmā town, usually reaching a peak in the months of October and November. According to a 1959 report by P. Jolivet, a WHO Entomologist, from 80 to 87 cases were diagnosed and treated weekly in the hospital and local clinics. The principal vector was certainly *A. gambiae*, which would be by far the most abundant species of the malaria mosquito in the town in September and October. The pools of water accumulating after the rains and the grassy swamps in many parts of the town served as ideal breeding places for these mosquitoes. The rivers that traversed Jimmā, the Aweytu and the Kitto, added to the breeding because stagnant water accumulated in their partially dry beds.⁶³

In 1959/60 when the Malaria Eradication Program was launched at the national level under the Ministry of Health, Jimmā was selected as one of the main centers for its activities in Kaffā and Ilubābor provinces. In April 1960 a construction of a "sector office" of the Malaria Eradication Program was opened. The Jimmā sector office was responsible for malaria control in Jimmā itself, Agāro, Shebe, Assabdābo, Serbo, Hāro, Yebu etc. For spraying operation, 150-200 individuals who were willing to provide free services were selected from the *safar shums*, police forces and high school students and were taught how to spray DDT.⁶⁴

Table 15: Number of Malaria Patients at Jimmā Hospital and Jimmā Clinic in Maskaram, Tikmet, Hedar and Tahsas 1951, 1952 and 1953 E.C.

Year	Month	Jimmā Hospital		Jimmā Clinic	Total
		In-patients	Out-patients		
	Maskaram	31	24	26	81

1951	Tikmet	96	106	63	265
	Hedār	146	55	54	255
	Tāhsās	47	19	20	86
	Total	320	204	163	687
1952	Maskaram	43	8	15	66
	Tikmet	135	79	91	305
	Hedār	196	121	82	399
	Tāhsās	69	33	19	121
	Total	443	241	207	891
1953	Maskaram	16	18	14	48
	Tikmet	30	24	10	64
	Hedār	24	15	1	40
	Tāhsās	11	9	4	24
	Total	81	66	29	176

Source:- JTAO, File No. 140.

According to a report in which the above table is included, an increase in the number of malaria patients in 1952 was chiefly attributed to the inflow from other provinces of people looking for Jobs during the coffee harvesting season and due to patients coming in from the villages near Jimmā that were not sprayed by DDT. Overall, it can confidently be stated that the Malaira Eradication Program based in Jimmā had contributed to the reduction of the death rate in the town and the surrounding villages.

4.5. Water Supply Services

The use of piped water services in Jimmā was started in the late 1930s, during the Italian occupation. The system built by the Italians consisted of two separate sub-systems: the St. Gabriel springs sub-system and the Jiren Springs sub-system. The St. Gabriel springs are located about 3 kms north of Jimmā, at the head of a

broad sediment-filled valley with a gentle gradient. The water from St. Gabriel and nearby springs was collected in a small chamber, distributed by gravity and chlorinated. The installation was protected by concrete structures which conducted the water to concrete settling tanks.⁶⁵ The Jiren springs are located at a higher elevation than the St. Gabriel Springs. They also were developed by the Italians in 1938. The springs produced much less water than those of St. Gabriel. The water was conveyed to specific sites in the town like the hospital and the prison. Only a minor amount went into the main supply system.⁶⁶

The water supply from these two springs and individual wells was inadequate and could not meet the requirement of the growing population. By the 1950s and 1960's it had become necessary to approach the water problem innovatively. On June 24, 1969 the construction of a temporary water supply system for Jimmā was signed between the Municipality's Department of Technical Services and a Government firm. The source of the water would be ground water. The original contract called for the drilling of five wells. Out of these five, four were drilled, all of them located near the Kitto airport. The water from the wells was pumped directly in to the distribution system. There was no storage or reservoir for the simple reason that the system was of a temporary nature, designed to relieve the urgent and acute crisis that prevailed at the time.⁶⁷ In 1974, the well adjacent to the hospital was constructed by an Ethio-Chinese group.

According to informants, severe shortages of water meant that people used the water from the Aweytu and its tributaries. But these sources were subject to pollution by animal and human waste upstream. The majority of the inhabitants used water from sources other than the public system. These included private wells and

streams. However, many of the private wells were also contaminated, and the water from these private sources were no less dangerous. As a result, many people in Jimmā suffered from a variety of water-born diseases such as amoebiosis, ascariasis, trichriasis, hookworms, shigellosis and typhoid.⁶⁸

Until January 1982, the Jimmā water supply system was operated by the municipality. Even though the Municipality collected payments from users, the income accruing from the sale of water was small. This was due to the fact that there was no means of measuring the amount of water consumed by each user. Payments were made by estimation.

In 1974, there were 1131 "clients" in the town registered by the municipality.⁶⁹

4.6. Electricity

Jimmā electricity services began during the Italian occupation by Compagnia Naitonale Imprese Electriche (CONIEL). In 1938, CONIEL installed the first diesel operated generator in the town, and added three other generators in the same year. At the end of 1938, the company installed a hydro electric power plant with a capacity of 120 KVA (Kilovolt Ampere) on the Dedebe River to supplement the diesel generators in the town.⁷⁰

According to informants, in 1941 when the joint Ethiopian and British forces entered Jimmā, the electricity network of the town suffered considerable destruction and damage by retreating Italian soldiers.⁷¹

From liberation to 1951 electricity supply was operated by the local municipality, using facilities that were rebuilt by the office of the Custodian of Enemy

Property. In 1951, the electric network of Jimmā came under the auspices of a new state agency called the Shawā Electric Light & Power (SELP). In 1955, SELP was renamed the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power and Since 1956 as Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority (EELPA). When EELPA took over the power station of Jimmā, the power generating capacity of the plant was raised to 518769 kwh, out of which 243640 was Hydro and the rest diesel.⁷² Until the opening of the transmission network system in 1956, the electric supply of the town continued to be a self - contained system. The self - contained system refers to branch electric power plants in the provinces which may be supplied by either hydro plants or diesel plants and operated independently.

In 1959, the branch office of EELPA was established in Jimmā and since then all local demands were provided by the Authority. In the same year, an additional hydro electric power plant was completed, adding a capacity of some 1456 KWH to the capacity.⁷³ According to the 1965 master plan of the town, the annual production of the two plants was raised to 2,8002,000 kwh which was equal to about 0.20 kw (day/person).⁷⁴

4.7. Communication and Transportation

4.7.1 Telecommunication

Telecommunication services made their debut in Jimmā in 1905. Towards the end of 1905, a 597kms telephone line was extended for the first time from Addis Ababā to Nonno and from there to Kaffā and Kullo. This project was run by Ethiopian

personnel under the supervision of a Mr. Secondo Bertolani. From the same route, a branch line of 20kms was extended and taken southwards from Cossa to Jiren.⁷⁵

In subsequent years, this network was extended to other parts of southwest Ethiopia including Gāmbellā and Wallegā. Jimmā was thus connected to these regions. During Italian occupation, open wire lines mounted on steel poles were introduced in the town. After liberation, in 1942, on the initiative of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph and Telephone, the important telephone line between Addis Ababā and Jimmā was restored. Owing to the expansion of coffee trade and the establishment of many government branch offices and private agencies, there was a steady expansion of telecommunication services in the town during the 1950s. There was thus in the 1950s a rapid increase in the number of telephone subscribers.⁷⁶

In 1954, single channel equipment was installed to service the Addis Ababā Jimmā line and this brought qualitative improvement in communication between the two urban centers. Again, as a result of the installation of quality communication equipment in 1968, the telephone exchange in the town was placed on a secure foundation. In the same year, a 1,000 line telephone exchange was installed in Jimmā.⁷⁷

Jimmā had postal services during the Italian occupation. The Italians established a post office mainly for administrative and military purposes. After liberation a post office was reopened in 1943. Owing to its favorable geographical location, the post office of Jimmā also served as head quarters for the South-western regional Post Office, supervising postal services for Agāro, Badālle, Mattu, Gore, Gāmbellā, Bongā etc.⁷⁸

4.7.2 Transport Services

The construction of modern roads in Jimmā and its environs predates the Italian period. Prior to the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36, substantial efforts were made to build the road between Addis Ababā and Jimmā by Dr. Workneh Martin and his engineer, Mr. Bartleet. But, this initial plan was aborted after some distance due to unfavorable physical conditions along the route. According to Richard Pankhurst the task of completing the road was entrusted to Mr. David Hall.⁷⁹ Thus before the arrival of the Italians, the town was connected by a dirt road with Addis Ababā, Gore and Badālle on one hand and with Bongā on the other. Gruhl had remarked that roads within Jimmā in the 1930s were well-laid out and well-kept.⁸⁰

Inspite of all these efforts it was during the Italian period that transport activities and facilities were dramatically developed. The Italians could be considered the real pioneers of modern transport services in Jimmā. As indicated in chapter two, the Italians had prepared a master plan for the town in 1937/1938 laying down the general pattern for the growth and development of the town. The plan envisaged a network of transport and communication systems. The Italians built a road connecting Addis Ababā to Jimmā, Jimmā to Bongā, and Jimmā to Gore. Iron bridges were erected across the Gibe and the Gilgal Gibe Rivers on the road to Addis Ababā. Consequently, modern vehicles such as cars and lorries of various sizes and types were introduced into the town.

According to informants, *Gāri* (the horse-drawn cart) were first introduced to the town during the Italian period. *Gāri* transport continued to grow after liberation particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, owing to the coffee boom of the period.⁸¹ *Gāri* became very useful for transporting coffee from road side stalls to the central

market and then to coffee hulling establishments. By 1964 there were no less than 85 *Gāris* in the town. In 1974, the number had reached 173, of which 65 transported goods.⁸²

From liberation until the early 1950s, very little was done in terms of paved streets and feeder roads in and around the town. This was probably because the cost of building was beyond the Municipality's financial and manpower resources. In 1952, the Western Regional Branch of the Imperial Highway Authority was established in Jimmā. The IHA engaged in the construction and maintenance of the streets on the basis of agreements with the municipality. For instance, in 1954 the IHA rebuilt 16.4 kms. of the town.⁸³

Taxi services started in Jimmā in 1959 with just one taxi. By 1963, there were 18 taxis.⁸⁴ In 1973/74, the number of taxis had reached 28. The taxi service charge was 0.25 cents. There was no regulation binding taxi cabs with regard to the location or area of service. That is why taxis in Jimmā were commonly known as "yatem Ba Hayāamest "[25 (cents) for all destinations.]"⁸⁵ The municipality regulated commercial vehicles in the town including *gāris*.

In 1955 a public transport system started to function between Addis Ababā and Jimmā. The most important companies engaged in longdistance bus service on this route included Jimmāna Firew Transport Co., Falaga Ghion; Gosh-Gondar Company and the General Ethiopian Transport (GET). There were also bus lines to Agāro, Bongā, Woliso and Wolqite which employed smaller vehicles carrying about 20 passengers each. Jimmā was the conveying point for a number of public transportation lines that connected it with several towns of south-west Ethiopia.⁸⁶

The business of transporting goods over long distances has also started soon after the roads were built. According to informants, trucks from Addis Ababā could always get full loads for Jimmā, particularly during the coffee harvesting season.

7.3 Air Transport

The airport in Jimmā is the most important one in south-western Ethiopia. It was also the only one, which had some modern facilities and equipment. Domestic air services to Jimmā started in 1946. It was expanded through the years, creating an air network that connects the town to hitherto remote parts of south-west Ethiopia such as Wākā (Kullo) Māji, Dambidollo, Gāmbellā and Gore.⁸⁷

In 1961 a new terminal building and a reinforced concrete runway were built by a Grove Shepherd Wilson and Kruge Inc. on the basis of contract with the Civil Aviation Department of the Imperial Government.⁸⁸ There have since been daily flights to and from Addis Ababā and many flights every week to Gore, Dambidollo, Gāmbellā, and Wākā. The number of passengers has also been steadily increasing since.⁸⁹

The expansion of both road and air transport facilities made an important contribution to the growth of coffee production and trade in the sense that it enabled the flow of this cash crop and other resources. It also stimulated the introduction in to the town of manufactured products originating in Addis Ababā or Asmara.

Conclusion

I have attempted to document in this thesis the development of Jimma from small beginnings to a major town. The actual beginning of concentrated settlement in the three localities of Jiren, Hirmata and Mandara was more a matter of political will by a succession of strong local princes rather than a geographical or strategic necessity. Before Jimma, there were a variety of towns in the neighborhood (like Saqa) that were important centers of commerce. It was the military and political ascendancy of the Digo rulers of Jimma that made the small market of Hirmata a point of convergence for local and long-distance trade. Traders were attracted to the Hirmata by the rulers of Jimma; they did not come to it because they had to pass through it.

One might thus hazard the conclusion that Jimma's chances of continuing as the an important point on the north-south trade route would not have been any greater than those settlements it had eclipsed if it were not for the conditions under which the Kingdom of Abba Jiffar II was incorporated into the expansive Ethiopian Empire. By peacefully submitting to Menelik and negotiating terms of autonomous existence for his kingdom, Abba Jiffar was able to achieve two things. Firstly, he saved Jimma from the dislocating experience that most parts of the southwest had undergone in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Secondly, he was able to preserve the primacy of the settlement that he and his predecessors had built. During the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth century Jimma thrived as the abode of Abba Jiffar's court, as a heaven for long-distance traders coming from near and far. Indeed, this was the most important formative period for the history of the town.

The short period between the coronation of Ras Tafari as Emperor Haile Sillase (1930) and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935-36 has seen the beginning of the end for Jimma's autonomous existence. The determined effort to assert

central government control on Jimma was attended by the spread into the region of the extractive tentacles of the state. From the logic of things one might say that the process would have undermined the viability of the town as an important settlement and probably killed its evolution into a major urban center.

But then came the Italian invasion and occupation. The decision by the Italians to build Jimma into a major center of administrative and economic activity was probably the single most important development in the history of Jimma's urbanization. Not only did it guarantee the continuation of the settlement but also defined the form and substance of its urbanity, including its physical appearance. Our sources indicate that the Italians had planned to build Jimma into "a small Rome", but the structures that they were able to put in place during the four short years of occupation were not enough to convert the town even into a "colonial city", complete with segregated settlements, labor camps, etc. Thus beyond the few characteristically Italian architecture that the town still displays, the most important legacy of the period of Fascist occupation for Jimma was its permanence and its primacy in the whole region of the southwest. For, the imperial order that replaced the Italians decided to build on the beginnings made by the Italians and to operate from Jimma in governing the large province Kaffa. No other town or city has grown in the whole of the southwest to rival Jimma.

In the meantime, however, Jimma has become the center of not just administrative operations but also of economic operations. The replacement of slaves, ivory and musk as exports from southwestern Ethiopia by coffee has meant that Jimma's administrative primacy was solidified by its economic significance. Coffee attracted fortune-seekers, laborers and entrepreneurs of all kinds to the town. Coffee made it possible for Jimma to be connected to various important centers of production and collection in the region and to the chief centers of economic decision-making elsewhere in Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and the world. Coffee brought to Jimma Oromo traders and workers from its rural hinterlands, Oromo, Amhara, Gurage and Tigrean migrant laborers and bureaucrat-entrepreneurs from all over the

north; Arab, Armenian, Indian and Greek traders, shopkeepers and company agents from beyond the seas.

As an urban settlement, the history of Jimma in the 1950s and 1960s was one of vibrancy, buoyancy. It was the busiest, the most crowded and the noisiest place in the whole of southwestern Ethiopia. Looked at from the inside, however, Jimma's social and economic record during these two decades is mixed. While it was a place of opportunity and success for many of its elite inhabitants (most of whom, incidentally, were its temporary residents) it was also a place of refuge for evicted peasants, unemployed migrant laborers and prostitutes. While the political and administrative elite and foreign companies removed millions of *birr* from the local economy through remittances, urban infrastructure and social services grew at a very slow pace; in fact, they became stagnant as the 1960s gave way to the 1970s. There was a growing incongruence of opulence and poverty, of economic vibrancy and stagnation. Probably this is what explains the brief fame that Jimma had acquired early in the 1970s as site of urban insurrection against the chief representative of the imperial order.

Notes

CHAPTER ONE

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².Kenneth Little, *Urbanization as a Social Process: An Essay on Movement and Change in Contemporary Africa* (London, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul,1974), p.8;Bairoch,pp.409-411.

³.AssefaDamte, " Urbanization in Ethiopia; Pre and Post Revolution Experience" (Ph.D. Thesis, Milwaukee; The University of Wisconsin, 1993), pp.61-64.

4. Akalou Wolde Michael, "Urban Development in Ethiopia:1889-1925" *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, XI,I (1973),pp.1-4.

5.Guluma Gemed, "An Outline of the Early History of Jimma Town", *Proceedings of the Fourth Seminar of the Department of History* (Addis Ababa University,1989), p.32.

6.National Water Resources Commission, "Feasible [sic] Study for Water Supply, Jimma Final Report" (Addis Ababa, 1982), p.2.4; Central Statistical Office (CSO), *Report on a Survey of Jimma* (Addis Ababa, 1966), P.1; Ministry of Interior, "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma" (Addis Ababa, 1967), p.3.

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⁸ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.6; "Feasible Study for Water Supply, Jimma Final Report", p.2.4; The 1962, 1963 and 1964 figures are reported: 1400, 1553 and 1372 mm. see CSO, *Statistical Abstract* (1963 and 1965).

- ⁹ "Feasible Study for Water Supply, Jimma Final Report", p.2.4.
- ¹⁰ Yuri M. Kobischanov, *Axum* (London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979), p.184.
- ¹¹ A.W. Hodson, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia* (Westport: Negro University Press, 1970), p.145.
- ¹² M. Abir, *Ethiopia; Era of the Princes* (London: William Clowes and Sons Limited, 1968), p.51, p.92.
- ¹³ *Informants*: Abbā Tamām Abbā Dulā, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Jobir; Benti Getahun, "A History of Shashamene Town" (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1988), pp.25-26; Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: History 1570-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University of press, 1990), pp. 136-137.
- ¹⁴ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline...", pp.29-30.
- ¹⁵ Mohammed Hassen, p.136.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline. . .", p.30; Mohammed Hassen, p.136.
- ¹⁸ Mohammed Hassen, p.135.
- ¹⁹ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline . . .", p.30.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, p.32.
- ²¹ A. Cecchi, *Da Zeila alla Frontiere del caffè*, vol. II (Rome: E. Laesher, 1885), p.540.
- ²² Charles T. Beke, *Journey to Kaffa* (London: James Madden and Leudenhall Street, 1851), p.43.
- ²³ G. Massaja, *I Miei Trentacinque Anni Di Missione Nell' Alta Etiopia* (Milan: Pontificia S. Guiseppe, 1889), p.6.
- ²⁴ J. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (Oxford University press, 1952), p.200.
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- ²⁶ *Informants*: Ahmed Abbā Diko, Abbā Tamām, Abbā Garo.
- ²⁷ *Informants*: Abbā Miliki, Abbā Garo.

²⁸ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.48; Damraw Dāñña, p.5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ H. Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy, Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830-1932* (Madison and Milwaukee, the University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p.68.

³¹ *Informants*: Abbā Garo, Abbā Tamām, Abbā Miliki.

³² *Ibid*; JTAO, "Ya Jimmā Katamā ... ", p.5.

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³⁴ C.W. Gwynn, " A Journey in Southern Abyssinia," *Geographical Journal*, XXXVII:2 (August, 1911), pp.132-133; Hailemariam Goshu, "The Kingdom of Abba Jifar II: 1861 - 1934" (B.A. Thesis, HSIU, 1970), p.21.

³⁵ Guluma Gemedā, "An outline. . . ", p.38; Damraw, p.16; *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Mohammed Hassen, p.158; See also Abdo Adem "Qubba Abba Arabu, An Islamic Shrine in Jimma" (B.A. Thesis, AAU, 1992), p.15.

³⁹ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline. . . ", p.32; "Report on the Development of Jimma Town", pp.49-50; *Informants*: Abbā Garo, Abbā Tamām, Abbā Miliki; zaituna Mohammed.

⁴⁰ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline. . . ", p.32.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

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⁴³ Getachew Fule, "The Kingdom of Janjero: A Historical Survey to 1894", (B.A. Thesis, AAU, 1985), pp.38-59; Mohammed Hassen, pp.183-184.

⁴⁴ *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Garo, Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy. . .* , pp.56-57.

⁴⁵ Mohammed Hassen, p.140, JTAO, "Ya Jimmā Katamā Ka Yat Wadet", p.6' Mohammed Nassir, "Economic History of Jimma Aba Jifar 1878-1930" (B.A. Thesis, HSIU, 1973), pp.30-40.

⁴⁶ M.Gruhl, *The Citdael of Ethiopia, The Empire of the Divine Emperor* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), p.146.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.155.

⁴⁸ R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle of Nineteenth Century to 1935* (Stuttgart; Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985), p. 251.

⁴⁹ M. Abir, "Salt, Trade and Politics in Ethiopia in the Zemene Mesafint," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, IV.2 (Addis Ababa, 1966), p.3

⁵⁰ Benti Getahun, "Shashamanne: Foundation and Early Growth Upto the Italian Occupation" *Proceedings of the Fourth Seminar of the Department of History* (AAU, 1989), p.21.

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⁵⁵ Haile Mariam Goshu, p.14; Guluma Gameda, "An Outline. . . .", p.36.

⁵⁶ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.51.

⁵⁷ Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns*, p.251; *Informants: Abbā Tamām, Zaitunā*.

⁵⁸ Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns*, p.251.

⁵⁹ Hailemariam Goshu, p.25.

⁶⁰ Gruhl, pp.146-7.

⁶¹ Guluma Gameda, "An Outline. . . .", p.34.

⁶² Tekalign W/Mariam, "Slavery and The Slave Trade, in the Kingdom of Jimma," 1800-1935 (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1984), p.47; Guluma Gameda, "Gomma and Limmu: The Process of State Formation Among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, C. 1850-1889" (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1984), p.169.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Tekalign W/Mariam, p.47; Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy* . . . , p.45.

⁶⁵ Tekalign W/Mariam, p.47.

⁶⁶ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

⁶⁷ Tekalign W/Mariam, p.47; *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

⁶⁸ **Ato** Malaku Fanta and others to **Dajazmach** Kifle Dadi, **Yakatit** 17, 1955 E.C., JTAO, File No. 429/22.A rough rendering of the letter would read thus:

The honorable *Dajazmach* Walda-Amānuel, as governor, and *Qaññāzmāch* Sāhla Eshete, as market and customs officer, were assigned to Jimma along with many government troops and secretaries in 1924. They then constructed houses and settled market and customs workers at the site that came to be known as *Shawā bar*.

⁶⁹ Damaraw Dāññā, p.14, *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Garo.

⁷⁰ Akin L. Mabogunge, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London: University of London press Ltd., 1968), pp.42-43; Anthony O'Connor, *The African City* (London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1983), p.28.

⁷¹ Central Statistical Office, *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Statistical Bulletin 1 (Addis Ababa, 1968),p.1.

⁷² Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (London: Zed Book Ltd, 1985), pp.130-133.

⁷³ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām, Abbā Garo.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Sbacchi, p.136.

⁷⁶ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1885-1974* (London James Currey, 1991), p.162.

⁷⁷ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline. . . ", p.38.

CHAPTER TWO

¹ *Informants:* Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām, Tāfasa.

² "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.54; Mesfin W/Mariam, "Problems of Urbanization", *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Ababa, June 1970), p.21.

³ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.54.

⁴ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline of the Early. . . ;" p.39.

⁵ *Informants:* Abbā Fogi, Tāfasa, Māmmo

⁶ National Urban Planning Institute, p.54.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Ing. R. Manganaro to the Municipality of Jimma (In Italian), 7/8/49: JTAO, File No. 429/226.

⁹ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.54; *Informants:* Tigu Yifāte, Tāddasa W/ Yas.

¹⁰ Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline of the Early. . . ," p.39; *Informants:* Tāddasa, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

¹¹ Mesfin W/Mariam, "Problems of Urbanization," pp.20-21; Imperial Highway authority, "The Development of Highways in Ethiopia," *The Second Pacific Regional Conference of International Road Federation*, (Japan, Tokyo, 1964), p.1.

¹² *Informants:* Abbā Fogi, Abbā Garo, Māmmo

¹³ J. Baker, "Small Urban Centers and their Role in Rural Restructuring," in Abebe Zegeye and S. Pausuwang (eds,) *Ethiopia in Change: Peasantry, Nationalism and Democracy* (London British Academic Press, 1994), pp.153-154.

¹⁴ *Ya Roma Berhan*, Genbot 2/1932. (IES)

¹⁵ *Ya Roma Berhan*, Tahsas 1/1933. (IES)

¹⁶ *Informants:* Birtukān Dāwud, Ababa

¹⁷ Sbacchi, p.163; "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.55.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 164.

- ¹⁹ *Ya Roma Berhan*, Tahsas 1/1932.(IES)
- ²⁰ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.55.
- ²¹ Sbacchi, p.95.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ IAR, Jimma Research Station, *Progress Report for the Period September 1967 to March 1969* (Addis Ababa, NP, 1969), p.2.
- ²⁵ *Informants: Ato Mikāel Bālchā and Gabra Giorgis.*
- ²⁶ *Informants: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām, Tāfasa; Bethlehem Tekola, "Narratives of Three Prostitutes in Addis Ababa" (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, June 2000), p.12.*
- ²⁷ *Informants: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.55; Guluma Gemedā, "An Outline of the Early...", p.39.
- ³¹ *Informants: Abdulgafār, Tāfasa, Abdulqādir, Abbā Fogi.*
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Informants: Tāfasa, Dagafā.*
- ³⁴ *Informant: Abdulgafār.*
- ³⁵ JTAO, "Ya Jimmā Katamā Ka Yet Wadet" (Mimeo), (Jimma, 1986 E.C), p.3. M. Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p.361.
- ³⁶ JTAO, " Ya Jimmā Katamā Ka Yet Wadet," pp.3-4.
- ³⁷ *Informants: Tāfasa, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.*
- ³⁸ *Informants: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.*
- ³⁹ *Informants: Qaññāzmāch Takā, Malkāmu, Tilāhun.*

⁴⁰ Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, *Jimma Western Regional Office Building Inaugural Ceremony* (1973), p.3; Befekadu Fetene, "The Role of Coffee in the Ethiopian Economy - 1957-1961" (Economics Department, University of College of Addis Ababa, 1963), p.20, *Informant*: Kalil Kadir.

⁴¹ *Informants*: Almāz Tilāhun, Adāna Tashoma.

⁴² R.S. Anderson, Director of IHA to *Dajāzmāch* Masfin Sileshi Governor General of Kaffā, December 18, 1954: JTAO, File No. ~137; Jimmā Municipality to Kaffā Governor General Office, September 25/1954, JTAO, File. No. ~137.

⁴³ *Informants*: Bafakādu, Worku, Seyoum.

⁴⁴ *Informants*: Bafakādu, Malkāmu, Tilāhun; Guluma Gemedā, "Some Notes on Food Crop and Coffee Cultivation in Jimma and Limmu *Awrajas*. Kafa Administrative Region 1950s to 1970s", *Proceedings of the Third Annual Seminar of the Department of History* (Addis Ababa University, 1986), pp.92-94.

⁴⁵ S. Pausewang, *Peasants, Land and Society, A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia* (München, Köln, London: Welt Forum Verlag, 1983), p.61.

⁴⁶ *Informants*: Gāli Abbā Mogā, Kadir Yimāmu, Girge Abdalā.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Informants*: Seyoum, Bafakādu, Malkāmu, Tilāhun, Gāli, Yimāmu; Regional Planning Office for Western Ethiopia, "*Zenā Merāb Qatanā*" Vol. 1, 1 (Sene 1980), p.17.

⁵⁰ *Informants*: Tilāhun, Bafakādu, Malkāmu.

⁵¹ *Informants*: Girge, Gāli, Kadir

⁵² *Informants*: Girge, Gāli, Kadir; In Ethiopia, seven provinces accounted for 80 percent of all the honey and bee's wax production. One of this was Kaffa. See Imperial Ethiopian Government Technical agency, *Honey and Bees Wax in Ethiopia: Production, Processing and Export Possibilities*. A Preliminary Survey Study No.4/61 (Addis Ababa, June 1970), p.73.

⁵³ *Informants*: Bafaqādu, Worku.

⁵⁴ *Informant*: Kabada Badāne.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, *The Ethiopian Economy* (Addis Ababa; Artistic Printers, 1970), p.10.

⁵⁸ *Informants:* Balāy Kabada, Assafā Ambore.

⁵⁹ *Informants:* Balāy, Māmmo.

⁶⁰ *Informants:* Balāy, Assafā; Regional Planning Office for Western Ethiopia (RPOWE), "Ba Merāb Plān Qatanā Ya Enchat Masantaqiyāwoch inā Ya Tawulā Mirt Yaqaraba Tināt" (Jimmā, 1978), p.37.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Informants:* Balāy, Assafā, Māmmo.

⁶⁴ *Informants:* Balāy, Māmmo, Tigu, *Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

⁶⁵ *Informants::* *Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Balāy.

⁶⁶ *Informants:* *Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Balāy, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Informants::* Tigu, *Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Abbā Fogi,

⁶⁹ *Informants::* Balāy, Tigu.

⁷⁰ *Ba 1959 E.C. Geber Ya Tamadabābachaw Ya Negādewoch Zerzer,"* JTAO, File. No. ~ 121.

⁷¹ *Informant:* *Qaññāzmāch* Takā

⁷² *Informants:* Gāli, Kadir, Girge.

⁷³ *Informants:* Qādi, Abulgafār.

⁷⁴ *Informant:* Qādi, Abulgafār, Balāy, Abbā Fogi.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Ali Ahmad, Head of the Jimmā Branch of Mitchell Colts. to Jimmā Municipality, 15/1/62 E.C. JTAO, File No. ~ 41.

⁷⁷ Jimmā branch of HVA Ethiopia to Jimmā Municipality, *Yakātit* 16/63 E.C., JTAO, File No. ~39.

⁷⁸ The United Nations, *The World Bank in Africa* (New York, July 1961), p.21.

⁷⁹ Ethiopian Transport Construction Authority, *Special Report for 10th Anniversary of Revolution Day*, (Addis Ababa, N.P. 1983), pp.7-13.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Bekele Geletu, *Surface Transport and The Economy of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, n.p; May 1960), p.25.

⁸¹ IHA "The Development of Highway in Ethiopia" p.6; IHA, *Ethiopia Progress in Highway Transport* (Addis Ababa, n.p. 1967), p.7.

⁸² Ethiopian Transport Construction Authority, *Special Report for 10th Anniversary Revolution Day*, pp.7-8.

⁸³ *Informants*: Tāddasa, Girge, Tilāhun.

⁸⁴ Herbert Mohrig, *Highway Benefits, An Analytical Framework* (North western University Press, 1962), p.7.

⁸⁵ Mekete Belachew, p.59.

⁸⁶ J. Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of A Traditional Polity* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1974), p.163.

⁸⁷ G. Massaja "My Thirty - Five Years of Missionary Work on the Ethiopian Plateau", 12 Vols. (Addis Ababa, 1975 - 77), Vol. 5, pp.75, 78.

⁸⁸ Guluma Gemedā, "Some Notes on Food Crop. . .," p.9.1. Tarekegn Ararso, "The Economics of Coffee Industry in Ethiopia with a Special reference to Kaffa Region: A Comparative Analysis between the Peasant and State Sectors" (M.A. Thesis, AAU, June 1985), p.4.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Informants*: Malkāmu, Tilāhun, Worqu.

⁹¹ Tarekegn, p.4.

⁹² Takalign, p.50.

⁹³ Guluma Gemedā, "Some Aspects of Agrarian Change. . .," p.724.

⁹⁴ Debebe H/Yohannes, "The Role of Coffee in the Ethiopian Economy," *Kaffa*, 1,1 (1972), pp.20-21.

⁹⁵ Pausewang, p.61.

⁹⁶ *Informants*: Malkāmu, Tilhāun, Worqu, See also Guluma Gemedā, "Some Aspects of Agrarian Change. . .," p.735, *Addis Zemen*, *Tir* 20/1951 and *Genbot* 14/1951.

⁹⁷ *Jimma Western Regional Office Building Inaugural Ceremony*, p.3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Informant*: Kamāl Ahmad; "The Banks in Coffee Land," *Kaffa*, 2,1 (1973), pp.45-46.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Asraññāw Ya wul Mazgab*, No. 181, JTAO, ~ 60.

¹⁰⁰ Befekadu Fetene, p.20, Lipsky, p. 287.

¹⁰¹ H.P. Huffangel, *Agriculture in Ethiopia* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 1961), pp.460-464.

¹⁰² A rough rendering of the above text would be:

Coffee growers in this province have extensively improved their planting and maintenance method, which in most part, is certainly due to the help rendered by the Development Bank. In addition to the financial aid given to the coffee growers, technical assistance was extended by expert field staff whose primary purpose is to assist coffee growers in the development of the existing plantation and when necessary to clear and plant the huge virgin wild coffee forest.

Source: Addis Zemen, Genbot, 29, 1951.

¹⁰³ Ato Debebe H/Yohannes to *Dajāzmāch* Tsehāyu Enqusellāssie, *Tir* 15/61, JTAO, File No, ~.57.

¹⁰⁴ Guluma Gemedā, "Some Aspects of Agrarian Change. . .," p.725.

¹⁰⁵ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

¹⁰⁶ *Informants*: Malkāmu, Tilāhun, Abbā Tamām.

¹⁰⁷ Ya Bunnā Takel Corporaiton, "Ya Limmu Bunnā Takel Corporaiton Amatāwi Matsihet" (Jimmā, 1985 E.C.), p.7.

¹⁰⁸ Guluma Gemedā, "Some aspects of Agrarian Change," p.731.

¹⁰⁹ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām, Malkāmu, *Addis Zemen*, *Tir* 5/1943 E.C.

¹¹⁰ "The Coffee Board in the West," *Kaffa*, 2,1 (1973), p.48.

¹¹¹ *Berhanena Salam*, 26.7.28.

¹¹² *Informants*: Malkāmu, Tilāhun, Abbā Fogi; The National Coffee Boards of Ethiopia, "*Ya Bunāchin Zenā*" n.p., n.d, 1, pp.72-77; "*The Story of National Coffee Board of Ethiopia 1957-1968* (Addis Ababa, n.p, 1969), p.15. Guluma Gameda, "Some Aspects on Agrarian Change...", pp.728-729. The Coffee Producing Farmers Cooperative also established its second office in Jimma with the objective of protecting the interest of the members against coffee merchants.

¹¹³ Guluma Gameda "some Aspects of Agrarian Change. . .", pp.728-729; *Informant*: Tilāhun.

¹¹⁴ Institute of agricultural Research Jimma Station Branch, "Condition of Coffee Growing in Ethiopia," Special Report by Mr. R. de. Poerick, Agricultural Officer (Industrial Crop Branch of FAO, 1964), pp.5-8.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *Informant*: Tilāhun.

¹¹⁶ *Informants*: Qaññāzmāch Takā, Tilāhun, Abbā Fogi.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *Addis Zemen*, *Nahase* 3/1954 E.C., Guluma Gameda, "Some Aspects of Agrarian Change. . .", pp. 728, IAR, Jimma Research Station, *Progress Report for the Period September 1967 to March 1969* (Addis Ababa, May 1969), pp. 15-22; "Limmu Coffee Plantation Development Corporation Annual Bulletin, pp.10-15.

¹¹⁸ One such business-minded coffee growers was Mahari Endala. Mahari, who was a drug store owner in Addis Ababa, started investing in coffee in 1955. His coffee plantation was located in Girmo, in Limmu, on a land that he purchased. He employed upto 500 daily labourers and college-educated extension workers as field supervisors on his farm. In the second half of the 1960s, Mahari had started exporting coffee. In the early 1970s he was preparing to establish a cattle fattening station near Girmo. He had already established a drug store in Jimma Town. Source: Guluma Gameda, "Some Aspects of Agrarian Change .. .", p.728; "Ya Rekikib Sanad" - Special file of ex-owners, coffee plantation Development Enterprises, Jimmā; *Informant*: Malkāmu.

¹¹⁹ Mangestu Game, "Ya Bunnā Gabarewoch Mahbar Wanā Tsahafi La Jimmā Māzagājā bet," *Maskram* 21/1959 E.C, JTAO, File No. ~. 653.

¹²⁰ *Dajāzmāch* Abbā Jabel Abbā Jobir was born in 1923 in Jimmā, near Jiren. He attended the traditional Kuranic school during his childhood. In 1942, by the invitaiton of the Emperor, he was brought to Addis Ababa to attend the Madhan Alam Elementary School. In 1962 he was appointed governor of Jimmā *Awṛājā*. In 1967, he organized the Jimmā Coffee Farmers Cooperative association. *Informant*; Abbā Fogi.

¹²¹ Teketel Haile Mariam, "The Production, Marketing and Economic Impact of Coffee in Ethiopia," (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Anarbour Michigan, USA, 1980), pp.45-60.

¹²² Coffee Dealers with "License B" were authorized to purchase coffee for resale but not for export. See Imperial Ethiopian government, *Negarit Gazeta* legal notice 218 of 1959": The National Coffee Board Regulation," p.20. The Number of Coffee traders in Jimma town is extracted from different files of the Municipality.

¹²³ *Informants: Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Malkāmu, Tilāhun.

¹²⁴ *Informants: Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Abdulqādir, Malkāmu, Tilāhun; Guluma Gameda, "Some Notes on Food Crop. . .," p.92.

¹²⁵ *Informants: Qaññāzmāch* Takā, Tilāhun.

¹²⁶ For further details see National Coffee Board of Ethiopia, *Report on Second Sample Survey for Assessment of Lose due to Coffee Berry Disease* (Addis Ababa, National Coffee Board of Ethiopia Planning Unit, 1975).

¹²⁷ Ababa Gabra Igziabiher (Head of the Tax Department) to Jimmā Municipality, *Hamle* 18/1951 E.C. JTAO, File No. ~. 48.

¹²⁸ *Informants: Qaññāzmāch* Takā , Abbā Fogi, Tilāhun.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

¹ *Informants:* Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi, *Sheik* Hussen Hiriwoo, Al-Haj Abbā Jāme Hāji Mohammad. According to Mohammed Hassen, the *Afkālā* emerged as a new merchant class in the Gibe region about the second half of the eighteenth century: See Mohammed Hassen, pp.89, 98, 101.

² *Informants:* Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi; Mohammad Hassen, p.116.

³ Mohammed Hassen, pp.183-184; Getachew Fule, pp.38-59.

⁴ *Informants:* Abdulqādir, Abdulkarim, Abbā Fogi.

⁵ Hailemariam Goshu, p.18; *Informants:* *Sheik* Hussen, Al-Haj Abba Jame.

⁶ Mohammed Hassen, p.116.

⁷ "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.52.

⁸ P. Soleillet, *Voyages en Ethiopie Janvier 1882-October 1884, Notes, Letters et Documents* (Rouen, 1886), p.178.

⁹ *Informants:* Grāzmāch Asrāt Dalalāñ; Bālāmbārās Zagaya, Abbā Fogi.

¹⁰ *Informants:* Abbā Fogi, Tāfasa Foli, Tādassa W/Yas.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² A.P. Wood, "Resettlement in Illubabor Province Ethiopia." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1977), pp.266-275; *Informants:* Tilāhun Sasabā and Malkāmu Darsah.

¹³ *Informants:* Ababa W/Gabriel, Ratā W/Sanbat, Māmmo.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Informants:* Bazābih Gāmo, Māmmo.

¹⁶ *Informants:* Ababa, Bazābih.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Informants:* Chākā Tufā, Endāla Qare, Getāchaw Haile, Bakala Dabalā, Beuto Karetā (Abbā Bādag)

¹⁹ *Ibid;* Worku Nida, "Gurage Urban Migration and the Dynamic of Cultural Life in the Villages" in Grover Hudson (ed.); *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture*

(Harrassowitz, Verlag, 1996), p.134; see also A.W. Shack, "Urban Ethnicity and the Cultural Process of Urbanization in Ethiopia", *Urban Anthropology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.26-28.

²⁰ *Informants:* Beuto, Getāchaw, Endāla; Worku, p.136.

²¹ *Informants:* Beuto, Chākā, Getāchew.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Informants:* Bazābih, Ratā, Tigu Yirgā.

²⁴ "Report on the development Plan of Jimma Town", p.52.

²⁵ Gruhl, p.16.

²⁶ Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy...*, p.57.

²⁷ Consociazione Turistica Italiana *Africa Orientale Italiana (Guida)*, Milan, 1938), pp.516, 523.

²⁸ Mesfin Wolde Mariam, "Problem of Urbanization," *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, (Addis Ababa, 1970), p.22.

²⁹ *Informants:* Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām, Tāfasa.

³⁰ From Solel Boneh and Associates Private Engineering to Jimma Municipality, September 10, 1960: JTAO, File No. 46.

³¹ Extracted from "Ya Wuch Zagoch Mazgab," JTAO, See also, "Report on the Development Plan of Jimma Town", p.55.

³² *Informants:* Qaññāzmāch Takā Egano, Tilāhun, Malkāmu.

³³ Kebede Mamo, *Migration and Urban Development in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, ICDR, 1994), pp.8-10. See also Sileshi Sisay, "Urban Migration and the Labour Movement in Ethiopia," *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Chicago, 1978).

³⁴ Alula Abate, "Demography, Migration and Urbanization" in Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), *An Economic History of Ethiopia Vol.1: The Imperial Era 1941-74* (Addis Ababa: AAU, 1992). pp.293-294.

³⁵ CSO, *Report on A Survey of Jimma*, P.2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Alula, p.293.

³⁸ Wood, p.275.

³⁹ *Informants:* Worqu Alamnah, Tilāhun, Malkāmu.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma," p.35.

⁴² *Informants:* Ali Osmān, Tāfasa.

⁴³ *Informants:* Worqu, Tilāhun, Malkāmu; See also Wood, p.288.

⁴⁴ *Shāmbal* Kabada W/Yas to Commanders of the three Police stations, *Maskaram* 30, 1963: JTAO, File No. 314.

⁴⁵ *Shalaqā* Hailamāriam Lencho, Head of the Municipality of Jimmā, to the First Police Station, *Nahāse* 5, 1963: JTAO, File No. 201.

⁴⁶ *Informants:* Solomon Assafā, Malkāmu, Tilāhun.

⁴⁷ CSO, *Report on A Survey of Jimma*, p.11.

⁴⁸ Ministry of Interior, *Ya Jimmā Katamā Ya Ikonomi Inā Ya Soshāl Tināt* (Addis Ababa, MOI, 1960 E.C), p.55.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.56.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.56.

⁵¹ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.43.

⁵² *Ibid*, p.45

⁵³ *Informants:* *Grāzmāch* Asrāt; *Bālāmbārās* Zagaya, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām, Hādhā Kadir, Bafirdu Yagilu.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Nagādrās* Yagilu Abbā Wālo was born on July 14, 1883 in Shawā region. Just before his appointment as a district judge of Jimma, he was running his own business in Jimmā. During the Italian occupation, Yagilu participated in the resistance movement. He was imprisoned by the Italians for six months. After the departure of the Italians, he took up again his previous post and served until 1950. He was responsible for the establishment of the first church and the first school (the Mandarā School) in Jimmā; *Informants:* Bafirdu Yagilu, Sintāyehu Yagilu.

⁵⁶ *Informants:* *Malāka Salām* Gabramadhin, *Qasis* Diba Kulu, Bafirdu, Sintāyehu.

⁵⁷ *Informants: Bafirdu, Sintāyehu.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Informants: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.*

⁶⁰ *Informants: Grāzmāch Asrāt, Bālāmbārās Zagaya.*

⁶¹ Which literally means:

*Be happy the Christians of Jimma
Who formerly used to bury [your dead] underneath cactus trees
Now you are bound to get a church within your reach
[so] by taking the Holy Communion.
Beg the Almighty for the elongation of his [Rās Tafari's] life
Says your bother [the nameless].
Though not free to disclose my identity
[so as] not to be accused of having written these lines.*

The same tradition is collected by Getachew Legesse: "The History of Mendera Elementary School (1931-1974)", (B.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1995), p.18; *Informants: Bafirdu, Sintāyehu.*

⁶² *Informants: Grāzmāch Asrāt, Bālāmbārās Zagaya*

⁶³ *Informants: Malāka Salām Gabra Madhin, Grāzmāch Asrāt, Shāmbal Kabada; Addis Zemen, Tāhasās 14/1943.*

⁶⁴ *Informants: Malāka Salām Gabra Madhin, Grāzmāch Asrāt and Shāmbal Kabada.*

⁶⁵ CSO, *Report on a Survey of Jimma*, p.5. *Informants: Shāmbal Kabada and Grāzmāch Asrāt.*

⁶⁶ CSO, *Report on a Survey of Jimma*, p.5.

⁶⁷ M. Abir, *Ethiopia: Era of the Princes* (London: William Clowes and Sons Limited, 1968), p.72.

⁶⁸ J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Frankcass and Co. Ltd., 1965), p.199.

⁶⁹ Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy...*, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁰ *Informants: Sheik Hussen, Sheik Abuyazid; Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi, Al-Hāj Abbā Jamāl.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid*; Damaraw, pp.4-5: JTAO, "Ya Jimmā, Katamā Amasarārat," Type Script (Jimma, nd), p.6.

⁷⁵ *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, Zeitunā, *Sheik* Hussen.

⁷⁶ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, *Sheik* Hussen, Abbā Tamām, Al-Hāj Abbā Jamāl; See also Mohammed Hassen, p.161.

⁷⁷ *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, *Sheik* Abuyazid, *Sheik* Hussen, Al-Hāj Abbā Jamāl.

⁷⁸ Mohammed Hassen, p.159.

⁷⁹ *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi.

⁸⁰ A. Sbacchi, *Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (Zed Books Ltd, 1985), p.161; *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

⁸¹ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

⁸² CSP, *Report on a Survey of Jimma*, p.5; *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, *Sheik* Hussen, Abbā Tamām.

⁸³ F. Peter Cottorell, *The Growth of the Church in Africa* (Kinshasha: The Zondervan Corporaiton, 1979), pp.292-293.

⁸⁴ F. Peter Cottorell, *Born at Mid Night* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973), pp.16-24.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.41; Staffan Grenstedt, *Ambaricho and Shonkolla: From Local Independent Church to the Evangelical Mainstream in Ethiopia. The Origins of the Mekane Yesus Church in Kambata and Hadiya* (Uppsala University, 2000), p.60.

⁸⁶ Cottorell, *Born at mid Night*, p.41

⁸⁷ *Informants*: Dasālañ Dantāmo, Urgessā, Dagafā Bodanā.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*; Cottorell, *The Growth of Church in Africa*, p.293.

⁸⁹ Gordon Beacham, Director of SIM to the *Kantibā* of Jimmā, July 1946: JTAO, File No. 36; Ministry of Interior to *Dājazmāch* Mesfin Sileshi, *Tikimt* 2/1940. JTAO File No.38.

⁹⁰ *Informants*: Abarā, Urgessā, Dasālañ, Dagafā.

- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² Cottorell, *Born at Mid Night*, p.184.
- ⁹³ *Informant*: Dagafā.
- ⁹⁴ *Informants*: Dagafā, Dasālañ, Urgessā, Abarā.
- ⁹⁵ *Informants*: Dagafā, Urgessā.
- ⁹⁶ Fekadu Gadamu, "Urbanization, Polyethnic Group Voluntarily Association and National Integration in Ethiopia," *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research*, Vol. I.1 (April 1974), p.77.
- ⁹⁷ G. Salole, "*Ikub 'Edir' and Mardaja Mahabar as Potential Development Tools in Addis Ababa*" *International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa*, vol.2 (1986), pp.114-118.
- ⁹⁸ *Informants*: Grāzmāch Asrāt, Bālāmbārās Zagaya.
- ⁹⁹ Little, *West African Urbanization*, p.47.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Grāzmāch Asrāt.
- ¹⁰¹ *Informants*: Endāla, Chākā, Beuto, Getāchaw.
- ¹⁰² *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi.
- ¹⁰³ "Ataqālāy Iddir": JTAO, File No. ~.160, 161, 162.
- ¹⁰⁴ "Ya Jimmā Katamā Ataqālāy Iddiroch Matadādariyā Danb": JTAO, File No. ~.160.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ "Ya Ataqālāy Iddiroch Report", 1966 EC: JTAO, File No. ~. 164.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁸ *Informants*: Beuto, Chākā, Abbā Fogi.
- ¹⁰⁹ D. Levine, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 1972), p.278; Alemayehu Seifu, "Eder in Addis Ababa, A Sociological Study" *Ethiopian Observer*, 12.1 (1969), p.15. Dejene Aredo, *The Internal and Semi-formal Financial Sectors in Ethiopia: A Study of the Iqub, Iddir, and Savings and Credit Associations* (AERC, Nairobi, 1993), p.10
- ¹¹⁰ Dejene, pp.10-11.

¹¹¹ *Informants: Beuto, Chākā, Grāzmāch Asrāt.*

CHAPTER FOUR

¹ *Informants: Māmmo, Abbā Fogi, Tāfassa.*

² Tabor Wami, *Abbā Borā: 1897-1958 Ya Dajāzmāch Garassu Dukinā ya Leloch Arbaññoch Tārik* (Addis Ababa, EMPDA, 1986 E.C.), p.87; *Informants: Māmmo Dastā, Abbā Fogi, Tāfassa.*

³ Tabor Wami, p.87

⁴ *Ibid*, p.89. A rough rendering of the above text would read as follows:
I [Abbā Jobir] am not at fault. Nor are the people of Jimmā at fault. As it is clearly known, Jimmā was among the five Gibe states ruled by [their own] kings. Later on during his territorial expansion, Menelik conquered Jimmā by force. On the basis of an agreement with Menelik, Abba Jiffar was allowed to rule his domain as long as he regularly paid annual tribute to the central Government. But during the reign of Haile Sellassie the whole situation was changed. Governors began to be assigned from Addis Ababa. I and the people of Jimmā did not accept the new administration. As a result there was a popular unrest in the town in 1925 E.C. Rather than giving a just solution, they jailed me. This enhanced the contradiction between us. Later when the Italians entered Ethiopia I was released from prison. Until I surrendered to Colonel Fox, the Italian's allowed me to rule the land of my grand father.

⁵ W.E.O Allen, *Guerilla War in Abyssinia* (London, Penguin Books, 1943), p.103.

⁶ *Informants: Māmmo, Abbā Fogi, Tāfassa.*

⁷ Kidana Ar'ayā (water technician) to the Head of Jimmā Municipality, 6.10.42 E.C. : JTAO, File No. 326/35.

⁸ "Ya Jimmā Katamā Ka Yat Wadet," p.7

⁹ *Negarit Gazeta*, "A Proclamation to provide for the control of Municipalities and Townships," March 30, 1945, pp.45-49; Ministry of Interior, Ya Hagar Gizāt Minister Matsihet (Addis Ababa, 1.10 (*Genbot* 1954), p.20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, see also *Negarit Gazeta*, "A Proclamation to Amend the Municipalities Proclamation, 1945", August 27, 1947, p.72.

¹¹ *Negarit Gazeta*, "A proclamation to provide for the control of Municipalities and Townships...", p.45; *Negarit Gazeta*, "A Proclamation to Amend the Municipalities Proclamation...", p.72.

¹² *Informant*: Abdulgafār.

¹³ "Ya Jimmā Katamā Ka Yat Wadet," p.9.

¹⁴ The Minutes of the Council *Hedār* 22, 1945 E.C: JTAO, File No. ~. 146.

¹⁵ The List of *Safar Shums* extracted from different files of JTAO, File No. ~. 146, 133.

¹⁶ See *Negarit Gazeta*, "A Proclamation to provide for the control of Municipalities and Townships. . . ,"

¹⁷ *Bajat*: JTAO, File No. ~. 7. For further details see Table 7.

¹⁸ *Informants*: Abdulgafār, Abbā Fogi, Abbā Tamām.

¹⁹ The Minutes of the Municipal Council, *Hedār* 22, 1945 E.C.; *Tāhsās* 11, 1946 E.C., *Genbot* 30, 1945: JTAO, File No. ~. 146, 133.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ato Kifle Inqu Sellāssie* (Head of the Municipality) to Colonel Tamrāt Yigazu, *Endarāssie* of the Governorate General of Kaffā, *Maskaram* 21, 1955 E.C.: JTAO, file No. ~. 132; "*Ba Kaffā Taklāy Gizāt Ya Jimmā Māzagājābet Ya 1956 E.C. Gibr Ina Qarat Asabāsab*": JTAO, file No. A/2; The Minutes of the Council, *Nahāsse* 7, 1951 E.C; JTAO, File No. ~. 146.

²² *Ato Ababa* (officer of the Tax Department) to Jimmā Municipality, *Nahāsse* 5, 1951 E.C.: JTAO, file No. ~./29.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The Minutes of the council, *Hedār* 22, 1945 E.C., *Tāhsās* 11, 1946 E.C., *Genbot* 30, 1951 E.C.: JTAO, File No. ~. 146, 133.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Qaññāzmāch* Kifle Inqusellāssie to the Ministry of Interior, *Tikmet* 6, 1955 E.C.: JTAO, File No. ~.233. A rough rendering of the letter would be:

The municipality was collecting oil and fuel taxes from the owners of fuel stations in the town. But later on, this system was changed and the taxes were made to be collected by the Ministry of Interior and the share of the province to be sent back regularly. However, the Ministry of Interior did not

do this. For instance, the sum of 195,821 Birr, which was the share of the Municipality for the period between Maskaram to Sane 30, 1953 E.C. and 64,998.86 Birr for that of Maskaram 1954 to Sane 30, 1954, has not as yet been sent.

²⁷ The minutes of the council, Sane 21, 1949 E.C., Genbot 17, 1950 E.C., Tir 17, 1951 E.C.: JTAO, File No. 146, 133.

²⁸ Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, p.158.

²⁹ Takalign W/Mariam, p.47; Trimmingham, p.129.

³⁰ *Informants*: Tāfassa, Grāzmāch Asrāt, Tādassa, Sintāyahu Yagilu, Bafirdu Yagilu.

³¹ *Informants*: Bafirdu, Sintāyahu, Dagaffā.

³² Kaffa Province Educational Office, "*Ya Kaffā Kifla Hagar Ya Timhert Tārik*", (Jimmā, 1981), pp.21-23; *Informant*: Dagaffā; *Ya Watātoch Minch Ya Hagar Fiker Māhbar* to Ministry of Education (MOEA), 21, 9, 42, MOEA, File. No. 689.

³³ *Ibid*; *Informants*: Tāfassa, Dagaffā.

³⁴ "*Ya Kaffā Kifla Hagar Ya Timhert Tārik*", p.21, Jimmā Comprehensive Secondary school, "*Ya qadmow Miazīā 27 ya'ahunu Jimmā Comprehensive Hulataññā Darajā Timhert Bet Ya 50 amat Achir Tārik*," (Jimmā, Miazīā 1988, E.C), p.2.

³⁵ *Informants*: Dagaffā; School Report for 1942 Academic Year to MOE: MOEA, File No. 516-11.

³⁶ Mr. R.N. Thomson, "Report for 1947 Academic Year": MOEA, File No. 326-1/2961/17; "*Ya qadmow Miazīā 27 . . .*," p.2.

³⁷ "*Ya qadmow Miazīā 27 . . .*", p.3. Getachew, "The History of Manadara Elementary School", p.31. *Informants*: Dagaffā, Tāfassa, Bafirdu; Kaffā Province Educational Office to MOE; 21, 2.50: MOEA, File No. 1499/2780/2/11.

³⁸ "*Ya qadmow Miazīā 27 . . .*," p.4.

³⁹ Jimma Teacher's Training Institute (TTI). "*Ya Jimmā Mamhrān Taquwām Tārik Ka 1961-76*", (Jimmā, n.p. 1977), p.2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.4; The number of trainees is taken from Jimmā TTI graduation Bulletin of the year 1961-1966 E.C.

⁴² *Informants: Amāra, Etāgañ.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Informants: Ababa, Shāmbal Kabada; Addis Hiwet; Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution* (London, Merlin Press, 1975), p.107.

⁴⁵ *Ibid, Informants: Amāra, Etāgañ, Ababa, Shāmbal Kabada.* See also Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987. A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy* (Cambridge University press, 1994), p.60.

⁴⁶ "Coffee Production and its Problems," *Ethiopian Observer*, IV, 6 (1960), pp.190-195; "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54; Lipsky, p.250; *The Ethiopian Herald*, June 12, 1959.

⁴⁷ Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, *The Agriculture of Ethiopia*, (Report of Staff), Vol. III (1961), p.18.

⁴⁸ See Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, *The Agriculture of Ethiopia*, (Report of Staff), Vol. IX (January 1962).

⁴⁹ Jimma Agricultural Technical School Bulletin (n.p, n.d), p.19.

⁵⁰ Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, *The Agriculture of Ethiopia*, (Report of Staff), Vol. III (1956), pp.35-37.

⁵¹ *Informant: Amosā Mulatā.*

⁵² Institute of Agricultural Research (Hence forth IAR), *Guide to the Jimma Research Station*, (Jimma, 1972), pp.2-3; IAR, Jimma Research Stations, *Progress Report for the Period September 1967 to March 1969*, (Addis Ababa, 1969), p.1.

⁵³ *Ibid; Informants: Machāl Bālchā, Gabra Giorgis.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, IAR, *Progress Report for the Period September 1967 to March 1969*, p.3; Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development (MCTD), *Bunāchin* 5. 1 (1978), p.31.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*; pp.12-13; *Informants: Machal and Gabra Giorgis.*

⁵⁶ *Informants: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi.*

⁵⁷ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54;

⁵⁸ *Informants: Abbā Tamām, Abbā Fogi, Tāfassa, Ahmad.*

⁵⁹ *Rās* Dastā was the son-in-law of the late Emperor and was executed by the Italians in February 1937. He was commander in chief of the southern front during the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36. See Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1855-1974*, (Addis Ababa), AAU Press, 1991), p.169

⁶⁰ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54;

⁶¹ Samson G/Mariam, "Utilization of Jimma Health Center with Particular Reference to First Visit Poly Clinic Outpatients, A Study in Medical Geography" (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1987), p.13; *Informants*: Ahmad; Jamāl.

⁶² *Informants*: Ahmad, Jamāl; Tasfāye Gollā to Kaffā Province Public Health Office, *Magābit* 9, 1958: JTAO, File No. ~. 24.

⁶³ "Report of Survey of Jimma Town" :JTAO, File No. ~.132

⁶⁴ The minutes of the council, *Yakātit* 28, 1952: JTAO ,. File No. ~. 146

⁶⁵ These tanks are no longer in use. The water from the St. Gabriel spring was considered to be holy by the Church and there was some conflict over the use of the water. See "Feasibility Study for Water Supply Jimma Final Report," p.3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*; "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54.

⁶⁷ Water Supply and Sewerage Section to Municipality's Technical Service Department, *Miazā*, 15, 1963: JTAO, File No.85.

⁶⁸ "Feasible Study for Water Supply, Jimma Final Report", p.4.1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.3.; Bizunah Ashāgre to Jimmā Municipality, *Maskaram* 24, 1966: JTAO, File No.85.

⁷⁰ Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority (EELPA), "Electric Ba Itiyopiā Ya Tārik Zegijit", (Addis Ababa, EELPA, *Tir* 1977 E.C.), (Mimeo); EELPA, "Report on Past Activities and Future Programs, " (Addis Ababa, 1962), p.1.

⁷¹ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Tāfassa, Māmmo.

⁷² EELPA, "Report on past Activities. . .," p.4; See also EELPA, "Annual Report 1956-1966," (Addis Ababa, EELPA, 1967), p.12; EELPA, *Falage Berhan* (Special edition) (Addis Ababa, Artistic Printing Press, 1977 E.C.), p.12.

⁷³ *Addis Zemen*, *Maskaram* 4, 1952 E.C.; *Addis Zemen*, *Maskaram* 7, 1952; Regional Planning Office for Western Ethiopia (RPOWE), "*Ya Jimmā Katamā Plān Gimgamāwi Report*," (Jimmā; *Nahasse* 1978), p.4.

⁷⁴ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54;

⁷⁵ Secondo Bertolani, *Linee Telegrafiche e Telefoniche in Etiopia*, (Roma, Tipografia Nazionale Di G. Bertero EC, 1912), pp.7-8; See also Imperial Board of Telecommunication of Ethiopia, *Telecommunication in Ethiopia, An Historical Review 1894-1962* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, January 1963), p.15.

⁷⁶ Ministry of Transport and Communication, *Telecommunications Services in Ethiopia 1894-1994 Historical Review of Ethiopia Telecommunications* (Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of Introduction of Telecommunication to Ethiopia) (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers, 1994), pp.21-22.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p.32.

⁷⁸ *Informants*: Abbā Fogi, Tāfassa; Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Posts, Telegraph and Telephone, *75 Years of Postal Service* (Addis Ababa, Artistic Printers, 1969), pp.19-21.

⁷⁹ Richard Pankhurst, "Transport and Communication in Ethiopia (I), *The Journal of Transport History*, V, II (1961), pp.80-81.

⁸⁰ Gruhl, p.192.

⁸¹ *Informants*: Abbā Tamām, Māmmo.

⁸² The Number of *Garis* extracted from different files of JTAO archival department: JTAO, file No. ~.11, ~.93

⁸³ R.S. Anderson (Director of Imperial Highway Authority) to *Dajāzmāch* Mesfin Sileshi, December 18, 1954: JTAO, File No. ~.137. "Ya Jimma Mazagajabet la Kaffa Taklay Gizat Tshifat Bet, Maskaram 18, 1947: JTAO, file No. ~.137 A.

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⁸⁵ *Addis Zemen*, *Tikmet* 8, 1952 E.C. Report for *Tir*, *Yakātit* and *Magābit*, 1966 E.C.: JTAO, File No. ~.109.

⁸⁶ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54;

⁸⁷ *Informants*: Adete, Tāddasa, Baqala.

⁸⁸ "General Analysis and Report on the Master Plan for Jimma", p.54; Ministry of Information, *Transport and Communication in Ethiopia*, Book IV, (Addis Ababa; Ministry of Information, 1965), p.26.

⁸⁹ Abāta Agide to Ministry of Interior, *Miaziā* 11/1954 E.C.: JTAO, File No. ~. 51.

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- c. JTAO: "Ya wuch Zagoch Mazgab."
- d. JTAO, Archival Department, Minutes of the Municipal Council of Jimmā
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List of Oral Informants

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
Ababa W/Gabriel (<i>Yāsir Alqā</i>)	63	Jimmā, 10-4-00	Born in Bongā; served as a soldier; participated in the siege of the palace of <i>Dajāzmāch</i> Tsahay Inqusellāsse in 1974.
Abarā Māmmo	57	Jimmā, 26-8-00	Was one of the early members of the Hiwot Berhan Church. Knowledgeable about the missionaries' movement in Jimma
Abbā Bulgu Abbā Chibit	78	Jimmā, 17-5-01	Was an influential musk trader in Jimma and longtime resident; a useful informant regarding the commercial life of the town.
Abbā Fogi Abbā Jobir	84	Jimmā, 10/8/00; 10-4-01;17-5-01; 21-9-01	The eldest son of Abba Jobir Abba Dulla, Sultan of Jimma during the Italian Period. A man of considerable knowledge on all aspects of the history of Jimma.
Abbā Garo Shiek Mohammed	83	Jimmā, 19-6-00; 28-8-01	Born in Jiren, in the vicinity of Jimma, knows much about early development of the town.
Abbā Miliki Abbā Bore	76	Jimmā, 27-8-01	A valuable source on the conditions of coffee trade and on the growth and expansion of Islam.
Abbā Tamām Abbā Dullā	74	Jimmā, 15-5-01; 21-9-01	A coffee dealer born in Jimma; a useful informant regarding the commerce and religious developments in the town.
Abulkarim Abbā Garo	56	Jimmā, Agaro, 3-1-00;11-4-00	Personally devoted to the study of the history of Jimma town. He has collected various oral traditions; also an influential coffee dealer and useful informant about commerce in the town.
Abdulgafār Abdā	47	Jimmā, 24-09-01	An officer in the planning unit of JTAO. He is a valuable source about the physical expansion of the town and the role of the municipality in the development of the town.
Abdulqādir Mohammed	51	Jimmā, 26-09-01	Born in Bilida, in the vicinity of Jimma. He is a valuable source on the economic history of the town.
Adāna Tashoma	47	Jimmā, 13-3-01	An officer in the Agricultural and Industrial

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
			Development Bank of Jimma. He is a good source on the role of Banks in the Jimma area.
Adete Gedā	80	Jimmā, 1-2-00	A Gurage merchant and a long time resident of Jimma.
Ahmed Abbā Diko	56	Jimmā, 30-2-01	A nurse who has served in the Jimma hospital. A valuable informant on the Hospital of Jimma.
Al-Hāji Abbā Jāme	73	Tobā, 5-8-01	A famous Quran instructor. Knows much about the spread of Islam in the region.
Ali Osmān	41	Jimmā, 10-8-01	Born in the town. A graduate of AAU in History. Knows much about the post-liberation development of schools. Current vice principal of Jimma Comprehensive Secondary School.
Almāz Tilāhun	40	Jimmā, 19-6-01	Current Head of the Western Regional office of Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank (Jimma)
Amāra Mengistu	53	Jimmā, 2-2-00	Has worked as Dean of Students and Chief of the dining room and now is a librarian in Jimma Teacher Training Institute.
Amosā Mulatā	77	Jimmā, 8-6-00	A former administrator of Jimma Agricultural and Technical School (later Jimma Agriculture College)
Asrāt Dalalaññ (Grāzmāch)	70	Jimmā, 6-2-00; 28-6-01	An Officer in the finance of Ministry branch office of Kaffa province. A man of considerable knowledge on all aspects of the history of Jimma.
Bafaqādu Gabri	40	Jimmā, 15-6-01; 13-7-01	Served as extension section coordinator in Jimma zone Coffee and Tea Development Office. Knows much about coffee trade.
Bafirdu Yagilu	80	Jimmā, 19-4-01	Son of Ngadras Yagilu Abba Wollo. He is a valuable informant concerning the history of the foundation of schools.
Baqala Dabalā	67	Jimmā, 21-9-01	Currently serves as chairman of the Maradadat Iddir .

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
Balāy Kabada	73	Jimmā, 17-08-01	One of the early employees in the “Limonara” factory. Knows much about the development of hotels in Jimma.
Bazābih Gāmmo	49	Jimmā, 3-12-01	Long-time resident of Jimma, a worker in the Gibe Hotel since 1966.
Bueto Keretā	92	Jimmā, 10-10-00	Was among the early Gurage settlers of the town. Knowledgeable on the commerce in the town since 1941.
Chakā Tufā	82	Jimmā, 21-9-01	Current Chairman of the General committee of Jimma Town <i>Iddirs</i> .
Dagafā Bodanā	75	Jimmā, 23-12-01 11-10-01	From 1942-1946 he was English Teacher in Mandara Elementary School. He also served as interpreter for expatriate directors of the school. Later he served as Assistant Director of Kaffa Provincial Education Office.
Dasālañ Dantamo	54	Jimmā, 12-5-01	Knows much about the development of Protestant Churches in Jimma.
Dibe Kulu (<i>Qasis</i>)	38	Jimmā, 10-10-01	A deacon in the <i>Madhana Alam</i> Church. Knows much about the development of Orthodox Churches in Jimma.
Endāla Qare	67	Jimmā, 11-12-01	A prominent leader of the <i>Shawa Bar Iddir</i> .
Etāgañ Tsādaq (<i>Waizero</i>)	52	Jimmā, 3-2-00	She has been serving as care taker for girls since the foundation of Jimma TTI.
Gabra Giorgis Māmmo	53	Jimmā, 16-4-01	Has been serving at Jimma Research Station since its foundation.
Gāli Abbā Mogā	61	Jimmā, 28-5-01 18-7-01	Grain Merchant; knows much about the town and its vicinity.
Getāchaw Haile	58	Jimmā, 13-8-01	One of the <i>Shamma</i> traders, a long time resident of the town.
Girge Abdallā	68	Jimmā, 21-9-01	A famous grain merchant.
Gabra Madhin (<i>Malāka Salām</i>)	53	Jimmā, 27-12-01	Has been serving at the Saint Mary Church for a long period.
Hādhā Kadir G/Masqal	110	Jimmā, 10-10-00; 17-6-01	The wife of Abba Jifar II. Knows much about early development of the town.
Jamāl Bruhān	96	Jimmā, 30-12-01	Born in Jimma. He knows the hospital very well starting from the Italian period.

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
Kabada W/Yas (<i>Shāmbal</i>)	77	Jimmā, 15-12-00	He was a commander of Jimma district police forces from 1950 to 1965 E.C. He knows much about the political developments of 1970s.
Kadir Yimāmu	66	Jimmā, 21-9-01	A famous honey, wax and grain merchant.
Kabada Badāne	63	Jimmā, 24-9-01	A well known hides and skins merchant.
Kamāl Ahmad	54	Jimmā, 8-10-01	An officer in the Jimma branch of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. Born in the town, knows much about the post-Italian commerce in the town.
Malkāmu Darsah	60	Jimmā, 13-3-01 28-5-01	A graduate of Ambo Agricultural College; later served as farm manager on Mahari's farm. Knowledgeable informant on the economy of the town.
Machāl Bālchā	54	Jimmā, 2-05-01	A worker in the Jimma Agricultural Research Center since its foundation.
Mvmmo Dastā	87	Jimmā, 21-08-00	Born in a suburb of Jimma town; knows much about the Italian period. He was serving the Italians as a cook.
Qādi Muslāh	58	Jimmā, 06-03-02	A Yemenite, import-export trader; has provided abundant information about the town.
Ratā W/Sanbat	48	Jimmā, 4-9-01	Born in Kullo Konta; has been serving at the Jimma zone Malaria Control Office since its foundation.
Abuyāzid (<i>Sheik</i>)	67	Jimmā, 4-03-02	Born in Jimma; served as Quranic teacher and <i>Imam</i> of the Mosque.
Hamzā Sirāj (<i>sheik</i>)	87	Jimmā, 2-02-02	Born in the vicinity of Jimma, knows much about developments in the town.
Hassen Hiriyo (<i>sheik</i>)	82	Tobā, 19-9-01	A well informed Moslem elite who known much about historical developments in the region.
Sintāyehu Yagilu	70	Jimmā, 3-03-02	A son of Yagilu Abba Wollo; knows much

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
			about the development of schools in Jimma.

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
Solomon Assafā	61	Jimmā, 07-07-02	He was a valuable informant particularly for the history of modern education. Was a worker in the former Kaffa Province Educational Office.
Tādassa W/Yas	83	Jimmā, 19-4-01 23-8-02	A road construction worker during the Italian period. Knows much about historical developments in the region.
Tāfasa Foli	75	Jimma, 13-10-99 26-9-00/14-7-02	He was a student at the Italian Catholic School during the Italian period. Was English teacher at the Mandara Elementary School and later served as secretary of the school. Knows much about the town and the surrounding region.
Takā Egano (<i>Qaññāzmāch</i>)	82	Jimmā, 8-1-00 8-8-01/2-3-02	An influential merchant in Jimma, owner of the two famous hotels (Taka & Dagitu hotels); a long time resident; a former owner of Gojeb, Doyo and Gera plantations. He is still active and a good narrator; a useful informant regarding the commercial activities in the town and political development in the 1970s.
Tigu Yifāte	71	Jimmā, 8-8-00	Settled in Jimma town after coming from Northern Shewa in 1943/44. Knowledgeable on the history of the town after the Italian period.
Tilāhun Sasabā	60	Jimmā, 13-8-01	Served in the coffee plantation of <i>Lij</i> Abate as farm manager. Knowledgeable on the history of the whole region.
Worqu Alāmnah	50	Jimmā, 27-5-01; 26-9-01	Being an extension expert, he is the most valuable informant on coffee production and trade.
Urgessā Fufā	67	Jimmā, 12-02-02	An early member of the Jimma Qala Hiwot Church; knows much about missionary activity in Jimma town.

Name	Age	Place & Date of Interview	Remarks
Zagaya Biru (<i>Bālāmbārās</i>)	71	Jimmā, 18,02,02	A long-time resident of Jimma.
Zaitunā Abbā Garo (<i>Woizaro</i>)	73	Jimmā, 27-9-00; 16-10-01	Born in Jiren. She knows much about the early history of the town.